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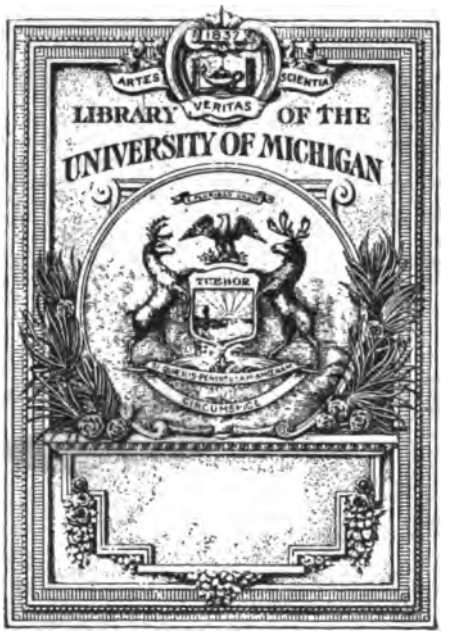

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1920

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FROM the Editorial Statement in the first number of THE MENORAH JOURNAL:

"For conceived as it is and nurtured as it must continue to be in the spirit that gave birth to the Menorah idea, THE MENORAH JOURNAL *is under compulsion to be absolutely non-partisan, an expression of all that is best in Judaism and not merely of some particular sect or school or locality or group of special interests; fearless in telling the truth; promoting constructive thought rather than aimless controversy; animated with the vitality and enthusiasm of youth; harking back to the past that we may deal more wisely with the present and the future; recording and appreciating Jewish achievement, not to brag, but to bestir ourselves to emulation and to deepen the consciousness of* noblesse oblige; *striving always to be sane and level-headed; offering no opinions of its own, but providing an orderly platform for the discussion of mooted questions that really matter; dedicated first and foremost to the fostering of the Jewish humanities and the furthering of their influence as a spur to human service."*

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THE MENORAH JOURNAL

VOLUME VI
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FEBRUARY
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A New Menorah Phase . . . . . NATHAN ISAACS

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An Appeal to Friends of Menorah

"RESOLVED, *that we, representing students and teachers at over seventy American and Canadian colleges and universities, in Intercollegiate Menorah Convention assembled, earnestly appeal to American Jewry to contribute the funds necessary to carry out our national program*—$300,000 to cover a *period of three years.*"—*Resolution unanimously passed by Intercollegiate Menorah Convention in New York City December* 31, 1919.

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"We believe the Menorah to be one of the most worth-while, constructive movements in American Jewry. We are glad to give it our support. And we wish also to bespeak for it the generous support of all men and women who desire to promote self-knowledge and *noblesse oblige* among the thousands of our youth in whose hands lies the future keeping of the Jewish name in this country. The Menorah makes not

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only for a high Jewish idealism but for mutual understanding and co-operation between Jew and non-Jew. Every American Jew should support such an endeavor. We trust the Menorah will readily raise the funds necessary for its work."

Signed by JACOB H. SCHIFF, ADOLPH LEWISOHN, FELIX M. WARBURG, DANIEL GUGGENHEIM, S. W. STRAUS, LOUIS J. HOROWITZ, JACOB WERTHEIM, LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, DANIEL P. HAYS, S. C. LAMPORT, NATHAN J. MILLER, LOUIS J. ROBERTSON, JOSEPH KOSHLAND, and Others

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Jacob H. Schiff

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THE MENORAH MOVEMENT

For the Study and Advancement of Jewish Culture and Ideals

Intercollegiate Menorah Association

(Founded Jan. 2, 1913. First Menorah Society founded at Harvard University Oct. 25, 1906)

"The object of this organization shall be the promotion in colleges and universities of the study of Jewish history, culture, and problems, and the advancement of Jewish ideals."

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(Founded Dec. 29, 1918)

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(Founded Dec. 29, 1919)

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THE
MENORAH JOURNAL

VOLUME VI FEBRUARY, 1920 NUMBER 1

The Hebrew Contribution to the Americanism of the Future

By HARTLEY BURR ALEXANDER

The First Annual Zunz Memorial Lecture*

I COME before you speaking not merely as a Christian to Jews, nor as a member of a race young in civilization to members of a race old in civilization, but first and last as an American to Americans, and as a man of the twentieth century to men and women of the twentieth century.

I

WE of today live in an hour preternatural. The world of men has been convulsed in a sudden and terrible agony. Fired with its own passions and consumed in its own fevers human nature has suffered such a revelation of its own inward constitution, of its depths and its heights, its blacknesses and its nobilities, as comes to the race of men at unforeseen periods, trying them with crucial pains, and working upon them like a potent medicine for their elimination or their purification. We of today are like men risen weakly after the passing of a delirium. Our vision is still dazzled and uncertain, seeking the new light, but obscured by the fugitive shades; our hearts are still anxious, quickening with rising hopes or sinking heavily back into dead obsessions; the blood of our life and the breath

HARTLEY BURR ALEXANDER has won enviable distinction as teacher, philosopher, and poet. He is Professor of Philosophy in the University of Nebraska, his native State (born in 1873); and late President of the American Philosophical Associaton. Among his notable books are "Poetry and the Individual," "Liberty and Democracy," and "Letters to Teachers." For his contributions to philosophy, and his studies in the Mythology of the North American Indian, he was awarded the Butler Medal by Columbia University. The address here printed was delivered before the Seventh Menorah Convention, in New York, on December 28, 1919, as the first annual Leopold Zunz Memorial Lecture.

*Established by the Intercollegiate Menorah Association in memory of Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), pioneer in modern Jewish scholarship. A critical essay on Zunz's works and influence will appear in a forthcoming number of THE MENORAH JOURNAL.

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of our life are still tense and throbbing, and there is a ringing of voices, out of the past, into the future, summoning us insistently into ways that have known us not. The hour breaks hugely upon us, and we stand certain of our sin, uncertain of our redemption, as naked souls before a Judgment.

There was, but a few months ago, one vast and blessed ray of illumination. When the last gun seemed fired and the last shell seemed burst and peace was shouted throughout the four quarters, men rose up with a cheer and sang pæans to the new day. The piaculum had been rendered, the offering had been made, and though the blood of the sacrifice was still undried in the trenches, men felt that their burden had rolled from them and that the day of their salvation was at hand. But not so easily, not so cleanly do we clear us of the peril of our souls. The past, histories old and history new, sets a living seal into the substance of all flesh, and the wounds heal slowly and the mark is for all time. In the whiteness of the morning we shouted with joy, looking to the East, but with advancing day we turned to one another's faces, and our countenances became troubled. The gladness has faded away, and the world, inward and outward, has grown gray and turbid. On my own native prairies, many a time I have seen a glorious and exultant dawn swallowed up by swift-oncoming bands of ashen cloud, until the whole heavens were obscured with their murk, and what had promised to be a day of splendors became transformed into a dimness of driving rain against which the journey must be urged, retarded by muddied roads, doggedly, tenaciously, cheerlessly, certain only of the coming night, hopeful only of other and purer suns rising to other days to make creation fair. Such a dawn, brief and symbolic, we have beheld, and into such a day we are entering, conscious that our lives must be the lives of wayfarers, that the expiation has not yet been fulfilled, and that the great radiance lies beyond us.

The Struggle Toward a Common Goal

THE men and women of all this world are struggling onward, less strong than weak, less seeing than blinded, into a day of obscurity and darkness. We of the United States are of their company. It was the great mediæval poet, speaking as such a statesman as perhaps poets and prophets alone come to be, who proclaimed: There is not one goal for this civilization and one for that, but for the civilization of all mankind there is a single goal, the branch and flowering of that stock whose single root is our universal human nature. Seeing ourselves with a near and flattering eye, it is our wont here in America, and our fatuity, to adjudge ourselves happier and more secure of happiness than are other peoples. But in the tale of the centuries and the count of the ages we shall

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appear yoked to our fellows, as mate to mate, and our one possible virtue will be that we may be shown to have pulled with a little more strength, a little more steadiness, in that toil which yields us our bread, physical and spiritual. There is a goal of all civilization; the past has moved toward it; the present is moving toward it; it is in the pulse of all men; it is in the respiration and the aspiration which are the measures of all human life. We of America can neither evade nor overpass this goal; nor should we seek so to do; for in it, as all our fellows, we live and move and have our being. The future of mankind is our future; for we, too, are men.

There is a single goal of all civilization. This is the fundamental upon which we must build our conception of human endeavor. But I do not understand, and I do not believe that so great a thinker as Dante could have understood, that this fundamental truth implies that the principle of civilization must be uniformity. For the realization of a world in which all men shall be humane it is assuredly not essential that all shall speak a common tongue, or recite a common creed, or that all shall live under a single government or under like forms of government, or that in arts or manners they shall follow an unchanging pattern. The unity of civilization is not to be sought in uniformity, but in harmony—indeed, in the richest possible harmony which is at all compatible with unity: for it is the very trait of civilized life to be lifted up from the monotony of savage life, to become complex, ramified with specialization, varied with subtle dissonances, accordant through the instrumentation of manifold interdependences. The very word civilization, as it were, summons man from the simple and primitive into the midst of the profusion, the labyrinthine order of great cities. It is there, in court and in mart multifarious with life, amid centers of traffic and before houses of state, where all is chaotic to the eye, yet all is synchronized as by a single clock and all is ordered by an accepted law, that we find our proper image of human civilization in its eventual entirety; and thinking upon this image we realize that the citizen of the future must in some fuller sense than we have understood be a cosmopolite, and that the world of men must become a cosmopolis.

The Ideal of a Symphonic Civilization

CIVILIZATION does not mean uniformity; it does mean harmony. This, be it understood, is not a rejection of the principle of limitation; rather, it is the assertion that limitation is essential to civilization. The possibilities of life are not infinite; not all variations are profitable; not all differences are endurable. There are forms of government, there are customs of oppression, there are darknesses of superstition known to the past, which we could ill afford again to endure, and which assuredly the future shall not know. There are races of men who have walked their

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unseeing way and who are gone forever, and there are races among the living who are fated to a like oblivion. If these words seem cruel, conceive what shall be those men who shall live in a period of the future as far from us as the period of the first men is remote from us in the past, and ask these men of the future whom, among us of today, they will recognize as their kindred? A feature, a trait, a reverberation of thought, a dream—beyond these we shall not be known. The process of human change is a process of elimination as well as of accession, of limitation as well as of variation; not alone of growth, but also of purification.

Permit me to revert to an illustration which my words may have already suggested. Civilization is a harmony. Unity is its fundamental; its variety is composed of those melodic tones that fall within the law which this fundamental establishes, departing from it but to return to it, enriching through accord, enhancing through contrast, but always obedient to its scale. The art of music, as we know it, conforms to principles which are very profound in nature and in human nature, and true with a lasting truth. But its proper materials were not discovered in a day. Out of infinite noises, shouts, percussions, twangs, thrums, the notes and the intervals were selected and refined, and the orchestral keys were set as a law and a limitation. Then alone was symphonic unity made possible and the chant of choric voices. So also shall be our discovery of the whole art of living. Deep in our natures are its principles and its tones are sonant in our lives; but in the past they have been and in our own day they are still engrossed in the clamor and friction and blare of an unpurified world. In some fairer future, under some happier sun, men will have discovered their gamut and their law, and all the varied notes of their aspirations will swell as a majestic chant orchestrally to heaven. For us, gropers after art, it is but given to catch from the noisy air elusive melodies, prophetic of that day. Such, I believe, is the condition today throughout the whole world of men. Everywhere there is a challenge ringing in the ears, carried as by Aeolian winds, and everywhere peoples are striving to perfect the instruments of their life, to render them, if may be, more capable of the sustained harmonies which the spirit of man dreams even if his hand may not yet execute them. People by people and nation by nation the attunement is being made, and while there are raspings and discords not a few, still we are all, we men, as an eager audience forgiving the jangle of preparation in our anticipation of the glory of the music.

II

The Garden of Eden in the New World

AND as the whole world, so in a special and nearer sense the United States is in the medley of a preparation. Our national problem is

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analogous to the world problem, and our effort analogous to the world effort. For we, in our own scale, represent a dissonance of instruments, an inharmony of racial and social groups which have yet to discover the law of their accord. We are certainly, one and all, inspired by the same great theme of melodic life, by an ideal composition which shall be our nationality of the future; but we have as yet not mastered or perchance discovered our several parts, and some, I fear, have as yet not perceived the richness and variety which must enter in to make the fulness of its harmony. For the moment there are many who strive with uncertain hands, many who hear only their own notes, many who conceive no power or form beyond a simple unison or the repetition of accustomed figures: they are honest citizens, they are stout Americans, but they have yet to learn that the magnitude of the anthem of the future will come from the voices of a multitude of choirs, each with its part, each with the timbre of its own training and tradition. American citizenship of the future must be, like musicianship of the highest order, an ability to bring the instrumentation of many races and many peoples into one mastering harmony.

I speak of the future; its indications are in the present; and they will be seen, I think, if we but throw into perspective the total human economy of this globe of ours, as history has so far revealed it. It is but four hundred years since Magellan circumnavigated the globe, dividing it once for all into an Eastern and a Western Hemisphere, an Old World and a New. In the brief intervening centuries every land has been charted, every region explored, the whole of Earth mapped and surveyed. It has been given to us here to live in the day of the climax and completion of this work, for it is in our day that the mysteries of the two Poles have been uncovered and the mysteries of the heavens above us conquered by the craft of men. Our generation knows, as no generation before us ever knew, the full human possibilities of Earth, our demesne, its climes and its tempers, its bounties and its limitations, its hospitalities and its inhospitalities. Dissolved forevermore are the imaginings and hopes and illusions which for thousands of years haunted the minds of civilized men with visions of Isles of the Blessed, of Ultima Thules, of Lost Continents, of Promised Lands and Lands of Refuge. We have staked our claims; we have taken our titles; we have broken the furrows of our boundaries; the plumbline is set in the midst of peoples. What in this Earth men can be, we know, and what they cannot be.

And in this broad economy, here at the beginning of the twentieth century, what of the United States? what is the rôle of our North American mountains and plains and vastly watered fields? As I consider the mapped globe and the peopling thereof, my own mind irresistibly moves backward to the figure of a venerable old man whom years ago I heard lecturing upon our country's destiny. He was not a man of learning; he was un-

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schooled and plain; but there was a fire of zeal in his eye, and his long beard, as of one coming out of the wilderness, and the sudden animations of his theme, gave to him the aspect of a veritable prophet. He unrolled a map of North America, and pointing to the confluence of the Mississippi, Ohio and Missouri rivers, expounded his apocalypse. The rivers, he said, are surely the Rivers of Paradise, and the broad plains, extending from the Alleghanies to the Rockies, what are they but Eden itself—the Eden whence man had been expelled for his first sin and to which he should return for his great Millennium? Behold, he said, their great figure, set like a divine seal upon the continent, for in their form they symbolize the union of the faiths of the West and of the East, and the unity of the peoples of the whole world: taken together the three rivers are, as it were, the Cross of Christendom, whereas the Ohio and Missouri, forming the arms of the Cross, form also, by themselves, an almost perfect Crescent, the Moon of the Orient. Here Europe and Asia are united in the final realization of human blessedness upon Earth.

The Pioneers and the Newcomers

FANTASTIC as is this image, it nevertheless conveys something of a truth which every American should be brought to perceive. The peopling of this New World land is from all the continents of the Old. Amid race after race, people after people, of the anciently settled lands, men have been stirred in imagination and in hope by the rumor of a country beyond the seas which should be for them as an inheritance to be entered into, opened in a new spirit of liberty, governed by a new and purer justice, gifted with a deeper and prouder humanity. And race after race, people after people, they have come, until the plains of America are as a place of assemblage and a gathering together of the nations.

Each of these peoples has come with its own color of hope; each with its own promise of work. It is now almost precisely three centuries since the first-comers of my own race found out the New World shores; and in those three centuries, the Anglo-Saxon, in the beginning alone, later on aided by other peoples, has accomplished a labor whose tradition is stalwart and proud. For to him fell the pioneer's task and the post of honor in the vast work of opening up wildernesses and of laying the foundations of cities and of states; and to him it has been given to spread the language and to frame the fundamental laws of the greatest of New World polities. But it has not been, it is not, and it cannot be his alone, by any right of occupation or pre-emption, to shape and limit the whole content of the life of the city whose foundations he has laid. The building up of a civilization, let me repeat, is complex of aptitudes and powers drawn from many races and from many traditions of culture. And the future civilization

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of the United States, the future Americanism, while it shall surely retain, doubtless, as its prevailing tone, the color of Anglo-Saxon institutions as here acclimatized, must and should be enwrought and enriched with the manifold gifts which the genius of other peoples have brought to this common shore. Out of Europe and out of Asia and out of Africa they have come, men of many races and many complexions, and the future of America is in their hands.

It is not for all men easily to understand this truth; it is not for all readily to perceive that there must be give as well as take in the intimate process of achieving a national concord. Many there are of the native-born who look upon the newcomers as welcome only in so far as they are willing to forget the habits of their fathers and relinquish the customs of their Old-World past; and some there are of those newly come who have failed to discern that the life here opening is a new life, calling for the abandonment of modes and manners that will not bear transplanting without becoming tawdry and meaningless. But time is a potent teacher; and I cannot believe that any man who will seriously think what shall be the Americanism of a thousand years from now can for a moment doubt that long ere then the discord and disorder which at present beset us will have disappeared and the racial and cultural antagonisms of this hour will have been brought to one design, harmonious through all its contrasts. The invention of this design is the labor of our present lives.

"The Most Imperishing of Peoples"

I HAVE spoken of the world problem and I have spoken of the American problem, which is like it in character, but lesser in scale and nearer to our lives. I would now speak, with a special illustration, of the mode of union and the meaning of acculturation of peoples within peoples. We come here, into America, like a procession of householders wending its way with gifts of the first fruits, each race and people with an offering unto the future. How shall the gifts be received? How shall the festival be ordered? What shall be the price and what the blessing?

When I consider, apart from circumstance, what should be the most perfect example of a people and a culture which have shown the power of give and take, of combination and assimilation without loss of self-identity, I can give but one unreserved answer—the Hebrew. Here, in the accomplished past, we have the portrayal of such qualities as are demanded for the salvation of the future; here, in race and in idea, we have the illustration of such powers of union as are demanded of all the races of America in the secure founding of their mutual destiny. Review for a moment the astonishing history of Israel. The first mention of the nation on a profane monument is a boast of their destruction on a stela of the

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Pharaoh Merneptah, erected about 1223 B.C.—"Israel is desolated; its seed is destroyed." Doubtless the words commemorate no more than a local massacre or the defeat of a band of pioneer warriors from among the Israelitic tribes already hovering near the Promised Land from beyond the Jordan and abiding only the waning of the power of Egypt to enter into its possession. But viewed in the long perspective of history, it is surely intensely dramatic that the first mention of the most imperishing of peoples should be the vaunt of its total destruction. For more than a millennium after the time of Merneptah, Israel was to occupy the land in which he first had encountered her, her brief period of security and kingly glory followed by centuries of terrible national anxiety under the constant threat of the great and rapacious empires by which she was surrounded. Egypt to the south, Assyria to the north, Babylon to the east, Rome to the west, turn by turn they wielded the rod of the oppressor; and wars and subjugations, destructions and captivities tore at the vitals of the nation's life until she was become as a living and perpetual sacrifice among men. . . .

> . . . the great Exemplar,
> She that was ground unremittingly
> Betwixt the upper and the nether mill,—
> In dreadful alternation bent
> Beneath the supple claws
> Of the lithe Egyptian, or stricken down
> By the muscled bull, Assyria,—
> Zion, builded on an hill!

The Jew: Exemplar of the Future Cosmopolite

IT is with ever undiminishing admiration that I have gone time after time to the Boston Public Library to contemplate the great lunette—for as a work of art it surely is of the great—with which Sargent has surmounted his superb frieze of the Prophets of the Old Dispensation. In this lunette, as it seems to me, he has concentrated the essence and symbolized the enduring meaning of the history of the cradle of human civilization, the ancient Orient. On the one side he portrays the Egyptian Pharaoh, active, powerful, pitiless, with his weighted axe uplifted for the cleaving blow, advancing before his animal gods, and all the tokens of Nilotic splendor; on the other, is the gorgeous and heavy and cruel Assyrian, he also attended by his beast-gods and monster-gods, and he also with broad blade upraised to strike. The greatness of the material world is in these two figures, in all its arrogance and ferocity, in all its ruthless and fantastic selfishness. Between them, in the image, is the naked and suppliant form of a Son of Israel, surrounded by his bowed and helpless people, uplifting his empty hands toward that fire of the wings of Cherubim

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from whence Jehovah reaches to stay with his touch the threatened blows.

> I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.
> My help cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth,
> He will not suffer my foot to be moved: he that keepeth thee will not slumber.
> Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep.
> The Lord is thy keeper: the Lord is thy shade upon thy right hand.
> The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night.
> The Lord shall preserve thee from evil: he shall preserve thy soul.
> The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth, and even for evermore.

Surely this psalm was in the artist's thought when he pencilled his design, memorable with the truth of ages. Today Egypt is no more, Assyria is no more, Babylon and Rome are no more, but she whom they deemed to have broken, Israel, is still a miracle of life among the nations.

In all human annals I know of nothing comparable to Jewish history. There is not only the great fact of that millennium of troubled national existence in antiquity, of which I have just spoken; there is also the yet more remarkable fact of two millennia of a not less afflicted dispersion during which the Jew has maintained his race, maintained his religion, maintained his peculiar culture in the midst of divers and far-separated peoples. He has done this in the face of a constant, often violent, and nearly unanimous hostility; and he has done it in a manner to command the respect of all men. He has done it, moreover, in a fashion to read a lesson for the future of mankind; for if there is today on earth a man who is both intensely individual and broadly cosmopolite, it is the Jew. He, more than any other man, has discovered the secret of accommodation to the usages of fellow men without imitation of them, of cooperation without identification, of harmonization without mere unison. He lives in Rome, and is not as the Romans; he is in Asia, in Europe, in Africa, and is not Asian nor European nor African, but is everywhere a kindred apart, related to all men, but confused with none,—such a man, in short, as in the millennial day of the world's full civilization men of all races must become.

The Spiritual Treasure of the Hebrew

SUCH is the spectacle, the miracle, which the Jew presents in human history. And where is the source and secret of this amazing vitality? To seek it in any material thing were to make jest with reason. The jewelled magnificence of Solomon was but a passing dream; the gold and silver vessels of the ancient temple are long-lost baubles. In olden days material wealth and power lay with the empires of the river valleys and the sovrans of the seas—all long vanished away. It is

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not through material things that men preserve their lives, and no lesson of this truth is more vivid than the lesson of Judah. Rather, the power to live is found through an inner trust and an inward consecration such as all Hebrew history attests. Our treasure out of antiquity is neither in corn nor gold nor public works, but in the records of human experience and the reflections of human conduct as art and literature portray them. Our inheritance out of the past, as our heritage unto the future, is, and can only be, of a spiritual, and not of a material substance.

Did any people apprehend this before the Hebrew? Has any held to it with a more tenacious conviction? Assuredly it is present in the legends of the covenants with the patriarchs; it is in the farewell exhortation of Joshua and in the exordium of the Books of Judges; it is in the hero tales, Moses, David, the Maccabees; and above all it is the soul and inspiration of the books of the Prophets. "While philosophy had for the Jews no meaning," says Professor Butcher, "history had a deeper meaning than it bore to any other people." And he adds: "Nor was the history of their past merely a possession of their own; it was a treasure they held in trust for the human race." And these words come very near to the quick of that vitality which has made Israel unique among peoples. From their earliest records onward the Israelitic families have been history-conscious; they have felt the breadth and endurance of human destiny; they have perceived that the movement of man's life is not one of simple change, but a movement with dramatic episodes and climaxes and with a meaning that lives behind and beyond its scenic shifts; and they have given, to all the Western world, not only their own conviction of the reality of this drama, but the very form in which they themselves have cast it. From the Greeks we of the West derive our arts and our sciences, our politics and our profane letters; but from the Hebrew we derive the whole imaginative frame within which human life is conceived and through which spiritual truth is made vivid and moving. Israel has been gifted with a conception not only vast enough to preserve them living throughout the centuries, but in its strength sufficient to command and engross the imagination of half the world of men. Nor can such a feast be due to any other accident than truth itself, that truth of human nature which, whether through philosophy or science, art or religion, comes at the last invariably to an expression in which the world of fact resolves into an apocalypse and the foundations of life are discovered to stand in its prophecies. Here we have before us a truly tremendous illustration, not only of how spiritual forces can act to preserve a nation through unparalleled trials, but even more of how the thought of one people may become the life of many.

(To be concluded)

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One Hundred Years Ago

A "Menorah" Anniversary

By S. BARUCH

IT is a scholarly (and human) habit to fix dates and mark dividing lines between "periods," or "epochs," or "ages." Certain striking events in history are considered turning-points or starting-points. The Renaissance, the learned agree, marks the definite dividing line between the so-called Middle Ages and what is designated as the Modern Era. This, however, is true only as regards the world at large, not as regards the Jews. For with the Renaissance came days of deepest misery for the Jewish people. With the Renaissance, indeed, began the Jewish Middle Ages. The Complete Man of the old Humanism—oddly enough—was also a persecuting animal. The sixteenth century is perhaps the blackest chapter in the dark history of the Jews. It is a sad tale, and often told. I need not repeat it here. Nor need I tell of the sorrows and misfortunes and humiliations that beat upon the Jewish people without respite during the two succeeding centuries, the seventeenth and eighteenth. A cloud of intellectual darkness descended upon the Jews in the Ghettos. Intellectually and culturally, the three Ghetto centuries—the Jewish Middle Ages—were, for the Jews in every land, long Rip van Winkle slumbers with occasional faint awakenings. The universities were closed to them. "The pioneers of the Renaissance, they did not share its fruits."

S. BARUCH (pseudonym of one of the best known American-Jewish scholars and "humanists" of the younger generation) writes of the notable Menorah-like Verein of a century ago with thorough knowledge, and con amore, in a spirit akin to the ardor for "Jewish science" of Zunz and his famous associates. Readers of The Menorah Journal will recall two previous contributions from the same pen: the "commencement address" entitled "Whither?", and the letters from the Bookman to the Jurist, "On the Future of Jewish Learning."

And so it came to pass that the Jews studied the Talmud exclusively, and philosophy and science, broadly speaking, were no longer represented in Jewish literature. Jewish philosophers and poets of past ages were barely known by name. Even the learned confused them as to time and place. There were no biographies of the great men in Israel; no historical and literary studies. Instead, there grew up a plethora of unpoetic legends, artless tales, and spiritless disquisitions.

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A LAZY convenience connects the participation of the Jews in the new expansion of men's minds, their knowledge of self and self-emancipation, with the name of Moses Mendelssohn and his "school" of

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Mëassefim ("Gatherers") and *Biurists* ("Commentators"). In sober fact, Mendelssohn and his disciples were typical children of their century, the eighteenth, which was in Judaism the "Golden Age" of the Yeshibah—alike in Poland and in Germany. The Mëassefim weighed the hairs which the Biurists split. Hair-splitting, to be sure, was no new business in the Ghetto. But the business was transferred from Talmud to Bible, from Halakah and Haggadah to Hebrew rhetoric and prosody. The disciples of Mendelssohn considered it a great feat of culture to translate Schiller's *Glocke* into Hebrew. Mendelssohn himself, though he discussed literature with Lessing and philosophy with Kant, was in reality a traditional Talmudist or pilpulist. In truth, there were two Mendelssohns—the one, the "German Socrates," was a life-long champion of a lost or losing philosophy, Leibnito-Wolffianism; the other Mendelssohn, the loyal Jew, was the apologetic and meek Moses who wished to offend no one—not even the annoyingly aggressive Swiss Pastor Lavater, who, thinking that Mendelssohn wrote so "Christian-like," endeavored, with the gentle graciousness of a polar bear, to convert him to the "true faith." Moses Mendelssohn was simple, good, and noble of character; but, compared with Maimon "the Fool", or even with a Bendavid, he was intellectually shallow. He was Nathan the Upright, not the Wise. If we are to gauge his influence by the Berlin Jewish community of the day, the Mendelssohnian emancipation proved a menace rather than a blessing. The Berlin Jewish community of the Mendelssohnian era was a shallow-rationalistic, half-cultured generation—Jewish Spoon-Riverites, who knew not Israel's heritage, its historic background, and its varied literature. And they cared still less.

However, hard words butter no parsnips—say the hungry sceptics. Or, in the language of the sober critic, invectives against an age are as unprofitable as indictments against a people. We should remember that the spirit of *Aufklärung*, with its mental restlessness and naïveté of thought in which Mendelssohn and his age were rooted, was unfavorable to the cultivation of a historic spirit and the development of a *Jüdische Wissenschaft*.

After Mendelssohn's death (1786), there emerged, under the influence of the sublimity-prattler Friedrich Schleiermacher, a race of Jewish *Kanzel-Redner* who chewed his artificial phrases. It rained, it poured *Predigten* and sermons. Of works definitely related to the great common interests of the Jewish people there was none. The professional Jewish scholar, other than the Talmudist, was as yet unknown, and the scholarly output consisted of much learned confusion. To be sure, there were learned men in the Ghetto who knew something; but they knew almost everything wrong. In the Jewish scholastic plants of the day, the simplest words passed through strange evolutions of meaning.

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IT was the science of modern philology—and not Mendelssohn's famous proof of the soul's immortality—that transformed the study of history. And it was the Romantic School of Germany that made linguistic study the "handmaid" of humane scholarship. The Romanticists not only cultivated the historical novel; they also stimulated, by their studies, an interest in the ancient past and the Middle Ages, and laid the foundations of the new historical science—the science which conceived the idea of development as applied to all things within the boundaries of humanity proper. *Becoming* was substituted for *being*. The unhistorical analysis of civilization and of man soon gave way to the historical conception of the world and of human nature. Hegel, who was then beginning to dominate German thought, expounded the idea of development in several connections. And the pupils carried the teachings of the master far and wide.

The inauguration of Jewish historical scholarship, which is intimately bound up with the Second Renaissance in Germany, was greatly influenced by contact with lines of experience that were as much social and political as they were scholarly or intellectual. It is also interwoven with something earlier—with that vast upheaval of European Society which we connect with the French Revolution. The Revolution itself, we know, widened and accelerated tendencies and movements having their "origin" in the Italian Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, and the several philosophical schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The eighteenth century, in particular, was an age when the spirit of man cast off the trammels by which it had long been fettered. Thought was free. Freedom of belief was demanded with passionate insistence. The European nations became conscious of their nationhood, and soon began their development on a national basis. One of the distinctive features of the French Revolution was the extension of equality to races and classes. And Jewry in Western Europe obtained emancipation as its share of the fruits of this Revolution.

Such, in fragmentary view, were the world-historic movements and influences which fertilized the efforts and determined the inclinations of the founders of the *Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden*, or *Culturverein*, for short. The last noon-beams of the Revolution and the first red dawn of modern historiography played about their cradles; and they always remained the children of the Revolution and of the modern historical science. These founders represented political freedom (Eduard Gans); practical reform (Moses Moser); and critical scholarship (Leopold Zunz). The love of freedom, the hope for the future, and the faith in Reason found an echo in their souls which never died. Children of their age, they also made an age.

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THE external and immediate cause for the Society's coming into being was the "Hep, hep!" riots of 1819, which took place in several German cities. The Jews of Germany were then making desperate struggles for life and light—"for a place in the sun"—against mediæval enactments by which bigotry and prejudice fettered all their efforts. The famous edict of 1812 removed only the main disabilities from which the Jews in Prussia had suffered. The prospect of equality which the German federal edicts of 1815 held out was realized only much later. (Promises made to Jews by politicians, statesmen, or governments are not always kept.)

In the political *misère* of the times, philosophy and science were the only consolation to such young and ardent Jewish spirits as the founders of the *Verein*. The road had been made free to intellectual aspirations, and much sound knowledge had been garnered. The first Jews to enjoy a *gymnasium* and university education in Germany, leaving the Ghetto behind them, they saw in the new world around them enlightenment, and wealth, and power; while among their fellow-Jews they perceived only poverty and indifference. Their hearts began to beat for their people; they thought of the great past of the Jews, of their grand and varied literature. Realizing that despite their own pursuit of modern culture the civil status they so ardently desired was persistently withheld from them, they set out to emancipate Judaism, and with it their own spiritual selves. With rare courage they looked forward to the things to be rather than to the present. It is to their credit that, while others—too old perhaps to be baptized—were indolently caressing the shore of the Jordan, the founders pushed their skiffs out upon its wide waters, in contempt of wind and weather.

* * *

THE meeting for the formation of the *Culturverein* was called in November, 1819, at Berlin, where headquarters were established. The original membership consisted of young scholars, dreamers, and university students who were distinguishing themselves in the various branches of literature and in the professions. Their learning and scholarship, it may be noted, was general rather than special. Even Zunz little intended, at the outset of his career, to confine himself to Jewish learning. The real tendency of his mind, it is true, had already manifested itself in his little book of 1818.* But it was with the founding of the *Verein* that he turned with all the power of his mind to the study of Jewish literature.

From the very first the undertaking lacked the parochial flavor. At

*Etwas über die rabbinische Litteratur. Nebst Nachrichten über ein altes bis jezt ungedruktes hebraisches Werk.

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the very outset intellectual contact with the large world was sought. The object was to transform Jewish life itself.

But to prescribe for the present, one must needs know the past. So the first creation of the *Verein* was a Scientific Institute to promote an effective prosecution of "the science of Judaism."* While the *Verein* itself included others than scholars, membership in the Scientific Institute was restricted; the members were recruited from amongst the *literati* of the *Verein*. Frequent and regular meetings were held at which the members read their essays or chapters from their newest books, and at which all important matters were discussed. Gans delivered a series of lectures, eight in number, on the special legislation concerning the Jews in Rome, and another series on the history of the Jews in Europe and in the Slavonic countries. He also discoursed on the Mosaic-Talmudical law of inheritance, and on the *ukaz* of Emperor Alexander I (January 1, 1822) which limited the range of the activities of the *Kahals* in Poland. Zunz lectured on the new subject of Jewish statistics; read a learned dissertation on the *literae liquidae* of the Hebrew language, and a critical essay—"a model of higher criticism," according to Heine—on Spanish geographical names mentioned in post-Biblical literature. Moser, who was not a *Fachmann*, held lectures of a more popular character on the philosophy of Jewish history, and on the influence of Christianity on the Jews. The antiquarian subject of the agriculture among the Jews in ancient Palestine was discussed by Ludwig Markus who, in another lecture, endeavored to prove that confirmation was in full accord with the spirit of the Jewish religion. Other contemporary problems and topics were treated by the learned jurist Julius Robo (Jewish communal organization); Immanuel Wohlwill (modern Judaism); Maimon Fraenkel of Hamburg (who sent an essay on the history of the Jews in modern times). The vexing problem of the future ("the laws and customs of the Messianic Age") was solved in the long Hebrew dissertation submitted to the Institute by the physician Eliezer Simon Kirschbaum. The lectures, parts of which were soon published in the Society's *Zeitschrift*, are characterized by elaborate *Quellenstudien* and by philosophical generalization. Among the laudable plans of the Scientific Institute was a German translation of the Bible; an edition of Mendelssohn's complete works; the founding of a library; and the formation of an archive. The members realized that to make Jewish knowledge an element in the education and in the life of the large masses of the Jews was only possible by the printed book.

* * *

THE unity in the work of the members of the Scientific Institute was remarkable. It was their ambition to produce a systematic body of

* Science is here throughout used in the sense of the German *Wissenschaft*.

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Jewish thought; nor was it beyond their capacity. Seldom has a small company of young men built upon so broad a foundation. And there is something touching in the fidelity with which these scholars and dreamers sought to work out the objects of the *Culturverein*.

In 1822 the Society began the publication of a Journal (*Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*). The editor, Zunz, and his collaborators had a clear idea of their aims and purposes. The immediate purpose of the Journal was to bring the results of the studies of the members of the Scientific Institute to a larger public. The essays published in the Journal were not the mere *parerga* and *paralipomena* of the Institute, but formed indeed the beginnings of the New Jewish Learning or Jewish science—the science which later became our pet and pride, the show-baby of our *Sturm und Drang* and our emancipation. The essay of Wolf (afterwards Wohlwill), *Uber den Begriff einer Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, is really a program, developed for the Journal. The contributions by Gans are of great value, not only for their extensive survey of the facts, but also for the manner in which general theories and modern methods are applied to special historical topics. Gans was the first to treat a phase of Jewish law historically. In this Journal there likewise appeared Zunz's model biography of Rashi—a priceless treasure—and his sketch of Jewish statistics which, though the first attempt of its kind, is still of great value. Here, too, Bendavid published a critical study of the Pentateuch, and an essay on the Jewish belief in a Messiah, in which it is argued that such a belief was not essential to Judaism. But I do not propose to index the numbers of the *Zeitschrift*. Ample learning and intellectual vigor are manifested in every page of it. The several essays show also the adaptability of youth; for, with two exceptions, the contributors were young men who had not as yet "settled down" within theories they had chosen. While the style of the articles is not always elegant, the tone is refreshingly independent, the treatment of the several subjects uniformly frank, and whenever questions of the day were touched upon, entirely fearless.

Nor were the founders of the Society the type of scholars who gave up the life of the citizen while devoting themselves to study and to the writing of books and essays for the mere pleasure of seeing their names in print. There was, indeed, a "practical" side to their natures and their work which was earnestly needed by the condition of the times. Emancipation was the striving of all, or nearly all, the able young Jews of the day. But the founders saw that the emancipation had to be internal as well as external. The task was to liberate the Jew not only from the fetters of his oppressors but from the shackles of his superstitions which he had acquired in the course of centuries in many countries and climes. The Jew was to be "Europeanized"; he was to attain liberty of the spirit with his political emancipation. But he was not thus to break away from a three thousand years' tradition.

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To solve this problem was the set purpose of the *Culturverein*. The founders saw a means of combining the principle of progress with the principle of order by an appeal to the historic spirit—by cultivation of the *jüdische Wissenschaft*. In Jewish literature, the mind of the Jewish people, and in Jewish history, the biography of the nation, there was moreover a point of contact for all parties as well as for the various religious tendencies of the individual Jewish man and woman. These fields were "neutral." The history of the Jewish people was the *Shulchan Aruk* for all Jews—thus saving the Jewish solidarity which was endangered by the breaking up of the Ghetto.

The movement, it should be noted, stood not for a revolt against the Jewish religion but for the "assimilation" or, if you will, naturalization of Jewish thought and study. Its leaders, however, had no taste for theological speculation. Inquiries into the achievements, spiritual and earthly, of the Jews seemed to them of greater importance. Their minds were filled with the belief that "the moral and social equality of the Jews must follow from the equality of the knowledge of Judaism." Hence the emphasis on the scientific investigation and presentation of Jewish history and literature. The sources of Jewish knowledge were to be improved, the content deepened. Thus the founders of "Young Palestine"* became, in a large measure, the founders of modern Judaism.

* * *

MEANWHILE the *Culturverein* sought also other fields besides an effective prosecution of the science of Judaism through the Institute and the Journal. Efforts were made to elevate the moral tone of the Jews, to counteract their prevailing bias towards commerce, and to encourage them in the pursuits of agriculture, the trades, and such of the professions as they had access to. The means adopted to secure these objects was a school (*Unterrichtsanstalt*) in which instruction was imparted gratis to poor students and artisans. The members of the Scientific Institute were the teachers at the school, which, we are told, was frequented by a not inconsiderable number of pupils. In this school, it may be interesting to note, the great orientalist Salomon Munk received lessons in history from Heine, while Gans taught him Latin and Greek.

In fact, the Society, from the very beginning, sought to identify itself with the educational affairs of the Jewish community of Berlin and other Jewish communities where branches of the *Verein* were formed. So, for instance, the branch at Hamburg numbered fully twenty members. In other cities the number was much smaller, often consisting of only two members, or even one. The United States furnished one member in the person of Mordecai Manuel Noah of New York—the man who meant

*Nickname of the Society in analogy to "Young Germany."

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well, tried a great deal, and failed utterly.* In Berlin itself, the home of the Society, the higher social circles—the so-called *salons*—kept aloof. So Rahel Levin; so her brother Ludwig Robert—despite the fact that both Gans, the president of the Society, and Heine, one of its active members, were on terms of intimacy with the two. The keepers of the Jewish *salons* considered it a *Schönheitsfehler*, if not a *Geburtsfehler*, to be Jewesses. The men of these circles showed "strong leanings" towards Christianity for their own benefit, if young (like Eduard Hitzig), or, if no longer young themselves, for the benefit of their children (like Abraham, the son of Moses, Mendelssohn).

Teachers, preachers, editors, censors, physicians, lawyers, and *Luftmenschen* were soon added to the Society's membership, as well as a few rich bankers—old or middle aged gentlemen, to be sure; for young men who took to banking did not take to Jewish culture and science.

* * *

THIS, in outline, is the story of the Society for the Culture and Science of the Jews. The tale is not long, and indeed could not be long unless it became too minute or too "historical." Before closing the story, however, let me dwell briefly on the personality of the leaders and foremost members of the Society.

Eduard Gans, the president of the Society, was a jurist of wide erudition with a great capacity for systematic thinking, though his output, in volume, at any rate, was rather small. (He died at the age of forty-one.) "Gans," says Heine, "furthered the development of the idea of liberty in Germany more by the spoken than by the written word." Because of his liberal opinions, his lectures on "The History of the Last Fifty Years," delivered while professor at the Berlin University, were frequently suppressed by the Prussian Government. He was the favorite pupil and later an intimate friend of Hegel, whose "Lectures on the Philosophy of History" he edited, and whose terminology he employed even in his presidential Reports of the Society. He carried the principles of the master into the field of law, and opened up new vistas. The historical school of jurisprudence was at this period coming to the front, and Gans, thus disposed, applied the new method to a special branch. His *magnum opus* (*Das Erbrecht, etc.*), the learned say, is remarkable especially for the way in which the theory of the slow evolution of legal principles is presented. The need of a career for his great talents forced him into a feigned acceptance of Christianity. Zunz was of the opinion that Gans's desertion of Judaism was due entirely to the influence of Hegel's teachings. It is true,

* The courteous gentleman returned the compliment by appointing Zunz, Gans, and a Dr. Leo Wolf of Hamburg commissioners to help him carry out his Ararat project; that is, to join the project-drunken Noah in his Ark.

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Hegelism, or Hegelianism, was at the time, and long afterwards, adapted to the needs and conveniences of everybody and everything—Jewish theology included. However, it is more likely that Gans was disappointed in the great masses of the Jews because of their inability, apparent or real, to reach the Pisgah heights of his own "pure" or "absolute" *Idee*. Heine, on the other hand, accuses Gans of downright faithlessness. Says Heine: "I have to say, though I say it with sorrow, that Gans fell very far short of uprightness in his dealings with the Society for the Culture and Science of the Jews, and exposed himself to an accusation of the most unpardonable felony. His downfall was all the more calamitous inasmuch as he had played the rôle of an agitator and had undertaken presidential duties. There is a traditional obligation on the captain of a ship to be the last to leave it when it sinks. But Gans saved himself first." As a matter of fact, Gans's baptism, to which Heine alludes, took place in the fall of 1825—more than a year after the Society was broken up. Again, the all but charitable Graetz lays stress on the fact that Gans was the son of a wealthy banker. Graetz regarded what was in essence a tragic state of mind as a purely artificial one. There was, granted, a fund of inaccessible wistfulness in his make-up. Gans was also vain—a rather human trait. He may have lacked philosophic calm. But he was not without depth. We must remember that the surrounding turmoil and agitation of the "transition period" in which his activities fell, were, quite apart from his own restless spirit, disturbing factors for stoicism. The facts also show that Gans was terribly loath to take the step he took. The liberal Minister Hardenberg pleaded with the Prussian King for Gans's appointment to a chair at the Berlin University. Hardenberg meanwhile died. In search for a field of action, Gans in vain went to France. He quite seriously thought of leaving Europe for America. His ship was anchorless. There was no one on board. The Captain's heart was without hope. And he swam to a haven of safety.

* * *

MOSES MOSER, the "secrétaire perpétuel" of the Society, was not a professional scholar. He was perhaps too many-sided to be productive. Moser was distinguished not by one dominant characteristic but by a harmonious balance of qualities. Though a merchant by profession, he was a regular attendant of Hegel's lectures and a thorough student of his works. He "read and understood Hegel in the original" (Heine). The chroniclers agree that Moser was a man of great learning and deep philosophic culture, of loving kindness, of patience, of resignation—caring nothing for fame or publicity. He tried to educate the Jews up to himself—a thing that required much more than mere schooling; it meant the evolving of a scheme of education which would produce men *and* Jews:

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"complete" or "absolute" beings. For "*Das Absolute ist der Geist*" (The Absolute is the Spirit), he maintained—"and not the [New] Hamburg Temple, or its preachers, or their listeners." Moser was perhaps the most active member of the *Verein*. He was a born reformer, "fired with a great pity for mankind, and the desire to put knowledge into practice for the healing of their woes. . . . He was very practical, and toiled unostentatiously at his labors of love. . . . He fought and bled incognito" (Heine). His name was unknown in the history of letters until some time after his death, when Heine's correspondence, comprising most intimate letters to his friend, was published. Heine called him "my friend of friends, the philosophic part of myself, the proper *édition de luxe* of a real human being, *l'homme de la liberté et de la vertu* . . . the epilogue to 'Nathan the Wise,' the normal-humanist." Moser, too, died at the comparatively young age of forty-two. But he was not baptized.

One of the most honored members of the *Verein* was the noble Ludwig Markus. First a student of medicine, he later abandoned it for the study of astronomy. In search for a livelihood, he went to Paris where he began his life labor—an erudite work on the foreign colonies in Abyssinia and Senaar from the seventh century B.C. to the fourth century C.E. But the great Jewish scholar had plunged into the ocean of historic documents and was—drowned.* This man of private modesty was, strange to relate, nicknamed "the King of Abyssinia." Heine, who conferred this title upon him, remarked that physically Markus resembled Moses Mendelssohn. Like the latter, he was a native of Dessau. The character of Ludwig Markus was glowingly depicted by Heine in an obituary, which, by the way, turned out to be also the obituary of the Society. Heine's eulogy is as sad as it is charming—like the memory of youth softly breathing upon the spirit of an aging man. There, between the lines, speaks also the pathos of broken ideals. Ludwig Markus, lonely bachelor, capitulated at the age of forty-five. "Suicide," the tough-minded call his deed. "Slain by life," the poets would say.

It would be sinful, indeed, to forget the gentle-hearted Immanuel Wohlwill, Hegelian, scholar, and teacher—nicknamed by the members of the Society "the Monas," because of his emphasis on the idea of the gradual growth of humanity to *monas*, to a general, all-inclusive Unity.

* * *

HEINRICH HEINE!—Heine was proposed by Gans for active membership in the Society. It is recorded that he attended the meetings regularly; that he occasionally kept the minutes; that he read a lengthy report on the formation of a Women's Society (*Frauenverein*), of which

*The work, as far as completed, was to have been edited by Salomon Munk. But Munk grew blind while engaged in editing the original Arabic text of Maimonides' "Guide of the Perplexed."

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he was a strong advocate—the object being to bring the idea of the *Verein* into the family and the community. We are also told that when the proposition was made at a meeting to prepare a religious manual for the Jewish youth, Heine strongly opposed it on the ground that it was both dangerous and ludicrous to treat Judaism as a kind of modernized pietism. Heine was then a youth of twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, and was mastered by an intoxicating *Weltlust*, which he later thought to have been his Hellenic temperament. What can I, a bookish bore, tell about Heine, a poet of such unique endowments? The volumes and pamphlets that have been written about him are legion. I have not, I own, read them all. Perhaps I never shall. The few that I have read, however, explain nearly everything in Heine—except his greatness. Apparently the springs of genius are beyond the plummet's sounding. One thing I do know: Heine, besides being a great poet, fascinated by the eternal riddle of existence, was also a great man of letters, who coined thought into language so terse and so vivid as to become part and parcel of the intellectual currency of the nineteenth century. Few poets throughout the ages, and few, if any, thinkers of the nineteenth century had such deep things to say. He had perhaps the greatest message for this great century. But he was—like his great "cousin" Jesus of Nazareth—a spendthrift who, while delivering his message, dropped so much by the way. Our natural enemies, the anti-Semites, brand him therefore as "Jew"; while our unnatural friends, the philo-Semites, lay stress on his "cynicism."

Of Heine's relation to Judaism, the late Gustav Karpeles and a few *quasi*-theologians, living or dead, have prattled with a gossipy ease that is shallow enough to be almost a real offense. And it is no revelation, either, to state here that Heine's Jewish writings and his Jewish zeal are all traceable to the influence of the Society. His letters to his friend Moser and other members of the famous circle breathe warm affection and deep intellectual sympathy for the ideas and the aims of the Society. Alas! ideas and ideals, too, are earth-bound. Or, as Zunz puts it, in this world each spirit is, after all, bound to a body. Heine, in order to obtain an "ordinary" professorship at a German university, had himself baptized. The coveted "ordinary" professorship was never granted him. But he was destined to attain an "extraordinary professorship in the university of great minds"—as he himself predicted.

Heine's baptism made him very unhappy. Inwardly he always remained a Jew. Heine's genius, too, was as Jewish as it was dazzling: what a nimble fancy—what a mobile grace—and what a flawless beauty! Still, he was essentially intellectual. He traveled the highway of the Intellect—the *via dolorosa*—the great white road on which kindred Jewish pilgrims traveled. This "son of the Revolution," the social democrat, was also a great aristocrat of the mind. He hated, above all, "sansculottism of

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thought and expression." For the "soldier of liberation" was at the same time a sensitive poet—passing, in rapid flights, from an atmosphere of deepest thought to a mood of lightest gaiety. Heinrich Heine was like the pine-tree that stood "lonely on a far Norland height": he was a spiritual exile. In his song and prose, the thoughtful reader may overhear the deep secret of his soul. And when slowly dying on the *Matratzengraft*, this great and gay man could still smile, and jest, and—love. Verily, what fortitude—what a heroic mind—what a man!

* * *

A REMARKABLE figure was that of Lazarus Bendavid. In his youth he supported himself, like the Jew Spinoza, by polishing optical glasses, devoting his leisure time to study. An *ewiger Student*, and much older than the other members of the Society, Bendavid was at the time a somewhat remote, almost dim, figure, serving without compensation as director of the Berlin Jewish Free School (*Freischule*), and passing his nights in the company of the ghosts of Socrates and other departed ancient spirits. On these "Isles of the Blest," Bendavid grazed till the end came. Yes, this expert accountant was an altogether introspective man, full of unworldly wisdom. Bendavid was one of the first three Jewish apostles of Kant (the two others being Marcus Herz, a prominent physician in Berlin, and Salomon Maimon, a Polish Jew about town). The disciple of Kant, whose "categorical imperative" he personified, did not want to know Hegel. The Prophets' austerity and the Psalmists' fervor streaked his intellect as they dominated his life. So simple was his mode of living that it earned him the name of "the modern Diogenes." A sage in the antique mould, Bendavid preferred independence in worldly affairs even to a square meal. His epitaph, which he himself composed, reads (in English rendering): "My name is Eliezer Lazarus Bendavid; God was my help; He granted me what I desired—Independence. Blessed be the name of the Lord."

To complete the list of *illuminati*, mention should be made of Isaac Marcus Jost, the first Jewish historian after Ghetto days; David Friedlaender, the mediocre disciple of Mendelssohn; and Israel Jacobson, kindly, foolhardy, teachy, talky, preachy, owner of a private synagogue, waver of flags—the first Jewish "grand-old-man" with a large balance at the bank.

* * *

THE *Culturverein* existed but a little over four years. The *Zeitschrift* came to an end even sooner; only three numbers of it appeared. The circulation was not large enough to pay the printer's bill. Needless to say, the influence of the Journal on the "general public" was altogether nugatory.

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The failure of the Society and its undertakings may serve us as a record and a gauge of the activities and aspirations of the days of its founders—what it could and should have been. The time of the founders is, in a sense, still ours. And our capacity to profit by their experience may be a test of our intelligence. . . . We cannot, and should not, in all decency moralize about the apostasy of the Ganses; we must consider and appraise the time and the public that forced them to do the things they did. The evil to the Society did not come from the fact that Gans craved personal recognition. Nor did it arise from the fact that many of the members were addicted to Hegelianism; or that they lacked "religion." He would be a false historian who would picture these men as people obsessed with the idea of "assimilation" or the ultimate conversion to Christianity. Theirs was no evangelical cast of mind. Graetz, whose work fell in the next generation, took entirely too much for granted what the preceding generation had achieved; and, hence, what it failed to do irritated him so hugely. And the great Jewish historian, who always judged his facts, as often as not *mis*judged them.

The Society failed because of a lack of interest on the part of the public. The public mind, unfortunately, was not yet prepared to appreciate the labors of these men. The Society died of non-nutrition. The support given it consisted mainly of blank checks—also called "good advice." Perhaps the undertaking was also too vast for so small a number of men, and even for one generation, to carry through.

* * *

AND it was not all failure, either. The Society, it is true, was broken up; but its influence did not die away. If little had been done for Jewish culture, much had been accomplished for Jewish science. This science became the life-work of Leopold Zunz, who—in the words of the always quotable Heine—"in the instability of a transition period, showed unshakable steadfastness, remaining faithful, despite his acumen, his scepticism, and his erudition, to self-imposed promises and to the exalted hobby of his soul (*der grossmütigen Grille seines Herzens*). A man of thought and of action, he created and wrought while others were dreaming and succumbing to despair."

I shall say nothing here of the influences which combined to mould his mind and character. Nor shall I here trace the strands of thought which led him to his ideas. Of all this some record will be borne hereafter in these pages.

* * *

THE story teaches a moral. The centenary of the birth of the *Culturverein* will not, I fear, be celebrated as a national holiday in Israel. But neither need *Kaddish* be recited in commemoration of the day its spirit

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fled. Perchance, in the hundredth anniversary of the *Verein*—of this "Menorah" of a century ago—the American Menorah movement celebrates its own birthday.

S. Baruch

EDITORS' NOTE.—As a supplement to the above, an early issue of THE MENORAH JOURNAL will contain an illuminating study of the life and work of Leopold Zunz, the "Liberator of Modern Jewish Scholarship."

THE MENORAH JOURNAL IS PARTICULARLY GRATIFIED TO ANNOUNCE THAT IT WILL PRESENT IN AN EARLY ISSUE AN ARTICLE WRITTEN EXCLUSIVELY FOR THE MENORAH JOURNAL BY THE EMINENT CRITIC AND PUBLICIST, GEORG BRANDES, ON "THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE JEW IN EUROPEAN POLITICS."

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Assimilation

By Maurice Fishberg

FOR over twenty centuries the Jews have been on the one hand admired and on the other hand condemned because they are not assimilable; because, irrespective of the social and geographical environment in which they find themselves, they remain a distinct group which differs strikingly from the races and peoples among which they happen to live. This, strange to say, has been maintained by both Jew and Gentile. Many non-Jewish writers have admired this alleged trait of the Jew, who is said to emerge successfully despite the unfavorable social, political, or geographical environment into which fate has placed him. On the other hand, of late many thoughtful Jews have deplored this very characteristic of their coreligionists. Some of the pseudo-scientists known as race theorists, as well as a certain class of politicians and statesmen, have drawn the corollary that inasmuch as the Jew is not assimilable in Western countries his proper place is in his natural habitat, Palestine and Asia Minor, where some Jews yearn to return, and many Christians would like to see them.

DR. MAURICE FISHBERG, known internationally as an authority on the anthropology and pathology of the Jews, is the author of the classic volume on "The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment" (1910). He has made many other contributions to the subject, based on his own researches in America, Europe, and Africa. The accompanying article is his first discussion, after a silence of eight years, of a topic on which his views have aroused much controversy. Dr. Fishberg was born in Russia in 1872, came to America in 1890, received his M.D. from New York University in 1897, and is Clinical Professor of Medicine at University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College, New York.

What is *Assimilation?* In anthropology and in sociology it means simply to make alike, to render homogeneous, two or more groups of individuals which in certain respects have differed one from the other. Given two different groups of humanity living in the same locality, the anthropologist and the sociologist are usually satisfied when the language, religion, customs and habits of the population are or become homogeneous, as ample proof that assimilation has taken place. The politician is satisfied if the population is assimilated along linguistic lines. In a theocracy, like the one which existed in Czarist Russia, it was religion which proved assimilation, only those who professed the orthodox faith being considered true Russians. There are, however, some who maintain that all these signs are

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no true measure of assimilation. They are more exacting, and demand that there must be commingling of blood, or intermarriage, before a minority population can be considered truly assimilated.

It is our object to inquire into the problem of the Jews, who constitute a minority of the population of Europe and America, and to ascertain, if possible, whether they are assimilable according to the conception just stated. In doing this we must be objective; sentiment, preconceived notions, and prejudice or bias for or against any facts, must be eliminated. Only in this disinterested manner are we likely to arrive at the truth.

Race Is No Barrier

WE shall first consider the racial aspects of the problem. It is clear that certain strata of the population cannot assimilate merely by adopting the language, religion, customs and habits of the dominant race. The negroes in the United States cannot be rendered white merely by speaking English, becoming Christians, etc. Considering their large number in this country, over ten per cent. of the total population, even intense intermarriage with whites will not help much in the near future. It will take centuries before anything like homogeneity in external physical appearance will be attained. From what we know of Mendelian heredity, it is doubtful whether this goal can ever be reached. It is different with the various ethnic elements of the white population of Europe and America. Inasmuch as no nation can claim that its population is composed of a pure ethnic group, free from racial elements common in another country inhabited by white people, race has not been an element in keeping diverse strata of population apart. Thus, the blond Anglo-Saxon does not consider the brunette inhabitants of the British Isles as different; the swarthy Sicilian has no prejudice against his blond compatriot in Northern Italy because of complexion alone; the blonds in Scandinavian countries have never attempted to discriminate against the more pigmented citizens of their countries. This point may even be carried further. The Mongolian element in the Russian population, which has been found far above fifty per cent. in some provinces, has been perfectly assimilated and there is no prejudice in that country against one who presents unmistakable physical characteristics of the Mongoloid type.

It is thus clear that because of race, the Jews, as whites, are by no means debarred from assimilating with their fellow-men of other faiths. The enormous number of Jews who have strayed from the fold in one way or another and are at present unrecognizable among the nations of the world prove that if there are any deterrents to assimilation of the Jews, they are not racial. Moreover, I have shown in my book, "The Jews," that from the standpoint of race purity the Jews do not materially differ

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from other groups of white people in civilized countries. Anthropologists have agreed that, when carefully examined, there are discovered among the modern Jews various racial elements and that it is not purity of ethnic strain that characterizes the Jew, but community of religious belief. There are, consequently, no more racial obstacles to assimilation of the Jews among white peoples than there are to the assimilation of the Germans in America, the Spaniards in France, the Italians in South America, the Slavs in Germany, or the Irish in England, etc. If they do not assimilate, the reason is not racial.

Nor Is An Alien Language An Obstacle

THE next test of assimilation is linguistic. In this regard politicians in certain Eastern countries will tell you that the Jew always remains an alien because he refuses to adopt the language of the country in which he lives as his mother tongue. They will point to conditions in Russia, Roumania, Turkey, etc., where the Jews after centuries of residence still speak their own language or dialect. Some have even stated that the Jew is organically unfit to learn a European tongue.

But a careful investigation reveals that this is not true. No one will deny that the Hebrew language was given up by the Jews in their intercourse with one another long before they had left their home land, Palestine. In other words, for more than two thousand years there has been no vernacular common to all the Jews in the various countries in which they have been dispersed. Moreover, it appears that when they had not acquired the language of the country in which they lived, the fault was not wholly their own. Conversely, wherever they have been permitted to live in peace, to associate with the non-Jewish population, and were admitted to the common schools, they soon acquired the language of the country. This was a fact right at the beginning of their dispersal among the nations. They assimilated linguistically even before their Babylonian captivity, when East Aramaic, or Chaldaic, became their everyday language, and Hebrew was almost forgotten. The same was true in ancient Greece, where both Chaldaic and Hebrew were given up in favor of Greek as the language of the Jewish inhabitants. In Spain, similarly, the Jews spoke first Arabic, and later Spanish; in France, French; Latin or Italian in Italy; and German in Germany. Of course, the Hebrew language was never entirely forgotten—the scholars, the learned, knew it; it has been the sacred language of the Jews and has been used almost exclusively in praying.

The languages they thus acquired became apparently almost a part of themselves. When compelled to leave the country in which they assimilated linguistically they took the language along with them and were loath

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to part with it. We thus have to-day the spectacle of the Jews speaking a German dialect in Eastern Europe, a Spanish dialect in Turkey, Palestine, North Africa, etc., showing that at one time they had assimilated in this regard.

It appears that the linguistic assimilation of the Jews depends on two main factors. First, the culture and civilization of the peoples among which they happen to live; second, the treatment meted out to them by those in whose midst they make their homes. This is best seen when present conditions are considered. In countries in Western Europe and America, where the non-Jewish population is on a high cultural plane, and where children are admitted to the schools irrespective of their religious belief, the Jews soon adopt the language of the country in which they live. This is a fact in England, France, Germany, Italy, America, etc. Here they forget the dialects and languages which their parents spoke within one or two generations. There are but few Jews, native born of native parentage, who can speak fluently Yiddish or Ladino; hardly any who can write properly in these dialects. On the other hand, in countries in which they have been isolated by the laws, discriminated against by special ordinances, as is the case in Poland, Russia, Roumania, Turkey, etc., and not admitted freely into public schools, they have not assimilated linguistically. They still speak there the Yiddish dialect which, as was just mentioned, is a reminder that in former times they had assimilated in this respect.

Religion Does Not Preclude Assimilation

A GROUP may adopt the language of the country, and yet remain alien and unassimilated, because of its failure to adopt the customs and habits, the "folk-ways" of the surrounding majority; they thus remain a foreign element, easily differentiated from the predominant population. These social traits, or folk-ways, may be of various kinds and degrees, beginning with religion, and ending with minor social customs, such as holidays, dress, etc.

It must be stated at the outset that religion is no criterion of nationality, nor of assimilation, among modern peoples. Thus, there is no republic, nor an otherwise enlightened modern form of government, in which freedom of conscience is not one of the fundamental organic laws. Not only are the multiform sects of Christianity protected against aggression, but all non-Christian religions are tolerated and protected in all modern States in Europe and America. Even a State religion does not preclude dissenters from the official faith. Theocratic Russia under the Czars attempted to impose the Orthodox Church on all its inhabitants and failed utterly. Turkey is another country in Europe in which the Church and State are one, and religious belief is taken as a test of nationality. But

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there is no nation in Europe and America which would like to emulate the Turk in this respect.

It is thus clear that religion, *per se*, cannot and should not be taken as a test of nationality, or assimilability. How far this applies to the Jews we shall see later on. It may, however, be stated that if difference of religious belief interferes with assimilation, the Protestants in France, Italy and Spain, the Catholics in England, and the Quakers in the United States, should be considered unassimilable.

Distinctive Customs That Have Set the Jews Apart

ONE of the most important deterrents to assimilation, or to the leveling of the various strata of population in a country, is the dress of the inhabitants. In Oriental countries we can easily pick out the different groups by the costumes which the individuals wear; similarly in Eastern and Southern Europe one can discern the various nationalities by the dress worn by the inhabitants. In former times, when the governments or the Church made an effort to keep the Jews apart and distinctive from the general population, laws were promulgated in several Mohammedan and Christian countries that every Jew must wear a badge, a sign of infamy, on some part of his outer garment. In the Orient and in some parts of Eastern Europe, the Jews still wear distinctive costumes which, though not nationally Jewish, are still sufficient to set them apart from the non-Jewish population around them. But with the removal of the discriminating laws, this also has disappeared. In modern States the Jews have assimilated the national costumes of the countries in which they live, and it cannot be said that there is such a thing as a Jewish costume. Even the peculiar head-gear, the beard of the men and the wigs of the women, have practically disappeared. In this respect the Jews have assimilated perfectly.

There are, however, several social traits which have acted as strong barriers against coalescence of the Jewish population with the surrounding non-Jewish majority, often leading to their separate existence within the nations in which they live. Some of them may seem trivial at first sight, yet it cannot be denied that they have been instrumental in accentuating the line of demarcation between the supposed descendants of Abraham and those alleged to be of other origin. It is the opinion of sociologists that certain Jewish religious rites, ordinances, and rituals have been more effective in preventing assimilation of the Sons of Jacob than all the Christian and Mohammedan laws which have been ordained against their coalescence with the general population during the entire period of their dispersal among the nations. Of these religious ordinances, which among Jews are part and parcel of life itself, perhaps the most important de-

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terrents to assimilation have been the Jewish holidays, including the Sabbath, and the dietary laws.

The ideal of national unity is that in addition to being subjected to the same common laws and having the same national tendencies and aspirations, the population should work harmoniously together, and rest together; all should celebrate the same holidays; all should, when free from the tasks of life, enjoy the days of rest together. Sympathy, love, and affection is best engendered when people, especially the young, play and enjoy themselves together. To be sure, such ideals cannot be attained in modern industrial States, for obvious reasons. However, as long as the Jews, almost without exception, rested on Saturday when others were active, and worked on Sunday, when others rested and relaxed, they were a distinctive part of the population. In modern industrial States such conditions, if involving a large proportion of the population, as in New York, Chicago, Boston, etc., would, for obvious reasons, create important economic problems in addition to the separatism it would impose on the Jews. But while there are some Jews who still keep separate in this respect in Western Europe and America, the vast majority, especially those of native birth, do not adhere to the Jewish Sabbath. With the exception of three days annually, the Day of Atonement and the two days of the New Year, the bulk of the Jews have assimilated to the extent of resting during the days when the non-Jewish population rests.

The Dietary Laws as a Force for Separatism

THE Jewish dietary laws have been even stronger deterrents to assimilation. Very few appreciate the extent to which these dietary laws have kept the Jews a separate and distinct group of the population. You cannot make friends of those at whose table you cannot partake of a meal. Those who obey the dietary laws must avoid food which has not been prepared in accord with the Biblical and Rabbinical injunctions. Even food which has been prepared in accordance with all these laws, but which is served on dishes which have been used by non-Jews, cannot be consumed by Orthodox Jews. The social separatism which these dietary laws engender is far-reaching. When young men and women cannot eat at one table they do not come into such intimate social contact as to render intermarriage possible. It seems that the ancient Jewish sages appreciated the fact that these dietary laws would prove very strong deterrents to assimilation: "I am the Lord your God, who have set you apart from the peoples. Ye shall therefore separate between the clean beast and the unclean, and the unclean fowl and the clean. . . . And ye shall be holy unto Me; for I the Lord am holy, and have set you apart from the peoples that ye shall be mine." (*Leviticus*, xx, 24-26.)

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Separatism to the degree imposed by these dietary laws does not promote mutual good-will, nor homogeneity of population. In fact, as long as the vast majority of the Jews in any country adhere to them, assimilation and coalescence of the Jews with those around them is impossible.

Radical changes in this regard, however, have taken place among the Jews in Europe and America. But a small fraction of the Jewish population manifest separatist tendencies as regards the Sabbath and holidays. Recent changes in economic conditions, the development of modern industrial methods, which preclude machinery working seven days a week, or running factories with but part of the workers engaged, etc., have brought it about that the Jew must work or keep his business running on Saturday, and rest on Sunday. A Jew who wants to keep the Sabbath is debarred from working in any of the public service activities, such as railroads, telegraphs, etc. The result is that nearly all Jewish workers are active on Saturday and resting on Sunday; the exceptions, which may be found everywhere, are so small in number as to be considered negligible.

Constituting a minority of the population in European and American countries, the Jews can only follow the rigid laws of Judaism when they implicitly obey all. It appears that when any link in the chain is severed, or even merely weakened, the entire structure suffers or collapses and, inasmuch as there are no racial barriers, coalescence goes on more or less rapidly. It is well known that once Jews relax in regard to the Sabbath and the holidays, symptoms of greater leniency as regards the separatist tenets of Judaism begin to manifest themselves. Thus, as an isolated and alien group of men and women amidst strange and often hostile people, the Jews in Europe before the middle of the past century had their own calendar, not only for religious purposes, but also for dating letters and documents. Things have now changed. Even among young men and women more or less intensely interested in Jews and Judaism, there are but few who know which year this is according to the Jewish era; and it would surprise me if one out of a thousand intelligent Jews taken at random in New York or Boston could date a letter according to the Jewish calendar without consulting an almanac. They have evidently assimilated—the calendar of the country is their calendar.

The Symptoms of Rapid Assimilation

IF we should judge by the fact that most of the Jews buy their meats in shops which allege, or guarantee, that the animals were slaughtered in accordance with the Jewish ritual, we might arrive at the conclusion that they still implicitly obey the dietary laws. On the other hand, careful observation of Jewish life seems to indicate that these dietary laws are no longer a bar to social intercourse between Jews and Christians in this

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country. Just visit any large restaurant in New York City and note the number of Jews who eat there.

It appears to me that the intensity of the compliance with these laws is in inverse ratio to the prosperity of the Jews. Prosperity, material, intellectual, or social, liberates the Jew from the yoke of these anti-social laws. I am told that there exists a first-class Jewish and *Kosher* restaurant in the financial district of New York City. But all over that city it appears that there is no demand for one. If there were, it would be supplied. An attempt was made to run a first-class *Kosher* hotel in New York City several years ago. But it failed. This strong dietary barrier to social intercourse between Jews and Christians is being swept away more rapidly than is generally appreciated.

There are other symptoms of intense assimilation of the modern Jews. Take such a seemingly small and insignificant matter as personal names. A people who have such a glorious past dating back many thousands of years, with heroes, martyrs and sages whose names are on the tongues of nearly all civilized peoples, need not seek for names among others. Indeed, up to a generation ago the personal names of the Jews were distinctly national; Abraham, Joseph, Jacob, Solomon, David, Sarah, Rebecca, Miriam, Esther, etc., were preferred. Now consult a list of young Jewish men and women of to-day and you will find that such names as Montmorency, Milton, Irving, Melvin, Lawrence, Lester, Clarence, Gwendolin, Annabel, Gertrude, Agnes, Cerilla, Constance, etc., are extremely common. In fact, if you find Biblical names, you will also find that they are borne by Christians. It is only the surnames, acquired in Eastern and Central Europe, which stick to them, because they cannot help themselves, though many make strong efforts to rid themselves even of these, as is attested by the court proceedings in any city in this country.

It is thus clear that nearly all the factors effective in the direction of separatism, of isolation, which are strong barriers to assimilation, are more or less rapidly being removed by the Jews as far as lies within their power to do so; as far as the Church and State are powerless to interfere in modern countries. From the social standpoint the Jews are trying their utmost to adapt themselves to their surroundings, adopting the language, customs and habits of their non-Jewish neighbors, and to remove all the stigmata which in the past have kept them apart from the non-Jewish majority around them.

The Tell-Tale Figures of Intermarriage

THERE remains yet one more factor of assimilation which, as was already stated, many sociologists consider of utmost importance when the amalgamation of various elements of a population is spoken of. I refer to intermarriage.

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If we are to be guided by historical data, beginning with the Bible, we must arrive at the conclusion that at all times the Jews intermarried more or less frequently with those of other faiths, despite strong bars placed by Judaism against fusion in any form. In my book, "The Jews," I have brought together considerable evidence showing that beginning with the patriarchs, Abraham, Moses, David, etc., and ending with recent days, there have been but few periods in the history of the Jews in which they have not intermarried with non-Jews among whom they lived, or admitted proselytes. While this intermarriage and this proselytism have left their imprint on the physical characters of the modern Jews—they cannot at present be considered a pure race, as I have already stated—they have interfered but little with the Jews and with Judaism; they have, in fact, increased the flock in the synagogues, rather than decreased it. At any rate, they have replaced some of the losses sustained by massacres, expulsions, baptisms, etc.

Since the separation of the Church from the State in modern enlightened countries, and since marriage has been considered primarily a civil affair, mixed marriages between Jews and Christians have become very frequent. The number of such marriages in Anglo-Saxon countries, where social and vital statistics are not recorded and classified on a religious basis, cannot be given for the simple reason that we lack exact statistical information. But in Continental Europe the data on this point is quite complete for some countries, and when collated give a clear view of the true state of affairs, and enable us to judge the extent of assimilation of the Jews as far as mixture of blood is concerned.

In my book on "The Jews" I have brought together figures showing that in Germany one out of five marriages in which Jews are concerned are contracted with Christians. In some of the large cities of that country the proportion is much higher: In Frankfort, 25 per cent. of the Jewish marriages are contracted with non-Jews; in Berlin, 45 per cent.; in Hamburg, 61 per cent.; in Munich, 40 per cent. In other words, in some of the German cities the number of Jews who marry Christians is almost as large as the number who marry within the fold.

Considering conditions in other European countries we find that the number of mixed marriages increases as we proceed from East to West of the European continent. In the East, but few mixed marriages had taken place in Russia under the Czars, because they were prohibited by law. In Hungary over 10 per cent. of Jewish marriages have been contracted with non-Jews, while in the capital of that country, Budapest, the proportion was higher, 20 per cent., or one to four pure marriages. In Austria, where the law did not permit marriages between Jews and Christians, the Jews, in their eagerness for assimilation and fusion, circumvented the prohibition in a peculiar manner. The law sanctioned the marriage of a Jew or a

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Christian with a dissenter or a freethinker. Under the circumstances when a Jew wanted to marry a Christian, one of the contracting parties declared himself or herself a dissenter, and the marriage was then considered perfectly legal. In this manner many mixed marriages were contracted in the larger cities of Austria. In Vienna, one mixed to eight pure marriages were thus contracted.

In Anglo-Saxon countries no statistics are collected by the various governments along denominational lines, and for this reason we cannot state with exactness the number of Jews who marry outside the pale, though available evidence tends to show that such unions occur among the native Jews to the same extent as in other Western countries. Where the proportion of the Jewish population is small, as in the smaller cities in the Western and Southern states of this country, the number of mixed marriages is very large, and even in the larger cities, where the immigrant Jews are compactly settled, almost as segregated as in the medieval ghettos, mixed marriages are not as uncommon as some might believe. In New South Wales, where statistics are available, it was found that 46 per cent. of marriages contracted by Jews were mixed, and in western Australia, 39 per cent. I have no doubt that in the smaller cities in this country and in England the proportion is about the same when the native Jews are considered.

The Disastrous Effects of Intermarriage

INTERMARRIAGE may be considered assimilation with a vengeance as regards the Jews. Its effects on the Sons of Jacob are distinctly disastrous from various viewpoints. Numerically it robs Judaism of more adherents than persecution. The vast majority of the children born to mixed couples are lost to Judaism. I have calculated that hardly ten per cent. of these children remain within the fold, and it is doubtful whether any of the descendants remain Jews within one or two generations. In countries in which it has been going on for more than fifty years, very few native Jews are left. This is exemplified by conditions in Copenhagen, where more of the native Jews have married Christians than Jews. If no immigration had taken place from Russia and Germany there would hardly have been left a Jewish family without Christian relatives at the present time. The synagogues there are maintained chiefly by the newcomers from the East. The same is true in Italy, where in the smaller and medium-sized cities there have not remained enough Jews to support the synagogues. In fact, the number of native Jews in Italy has been shrinking, and immigration from Germany and Austria has been only mildly effective in maintaining the Jewish communities in the large cities. Similar conditions could be cited among the French Jews—there also Judaism

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has to maintain itself by immigration from Russia and other eastern and central European countries.

That intermarriage may completely absorb Jews in a community is exemplified by conditions in the United States. What became of the comparatively numerous Jews of Spanish and Portuguese origin who lived here one hundred years ago? They have nearly all been absorbed by intermarriage. The few descendants who remain Jews are striking exceptions which prove the rule. Moreover, in the beginning of the nineteenth century there were about 2,000 Jews in this country. Had they kept within the fold, there should have been now over 30,000 Jews who can trace their ancestry back for over a century as citizens of the United States. As it is, if no reinforcements had come from Europe during the past one hundred years, hardly any Jewish traces would remain of those who lived here one hundred years ago.

That intermarriage may completely absorb Jews in a community is perhaps best seen in China, where Jewish settlements have taken place during fifteen hundred years. It appears that they were not persecuted along religious lines, as in Europe, and the result has been that they have been completely assimilated beyond recognition, and no immigration has taken place for several centuries.

"More Dangerous Than Persecution"

INTERMARRIAGE is a peril to Judaism not only because it robs it of adherents quantitatively, but injures it qualitatively. It appears that the best elements of Jewry are thus lost. Thus it seems that most of the families in Western and Southern Europe who have prospered, financially, socially, intellectually, have been lost to the Jews; their descendants are no more within the fold. There are hardly any descendants of the great Jewish bankers, scientists, musicians, artists, literary men, etc., of the first half of the nineteenth century within the fold of Judaism. Not only do the few exceptions which may be mentioned prove the rule, as exceptions usually do, but even among them symptoms of disintegration of the kind described just now are in evidence.

The Jews who have given thoughtful consideration to this matter have finally recognized that assimilation is more dangerous to the Sons of Jacob than persecution. They realize that under present conditions, when the Jews assimilate linguistically and socially, and wipe away the differences which have existed between them and the non-Jews among whom they live, it is becoming almost impossible to remain within the fold as a minority. As long as the Jewish Sabbath and holidays, and particularly the dietary laws, kept them isolated from the non-Jewish population, they were safe as Jews; even the severest persecutions could not eradicate

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them. But since the young men and women of Jewish faith partake of food at a common table with Christians, intermarriages are likely to occur, and the descendants of these unions are lost to Judaism. The higher the standing of the Jew financially, socially, or intellectually, the more likely are his children to be thus assimilated.

It is now recognized that Judaism is in grave danger because of this intense assimilation in Western countries. As already stated, to date the large mass of Jews in Eastern Europe, remaining unassimilated, has prospered numerically despite severe persecutions. And it was these Jews who replaced the loss sustained by the Jews in the Western countries through assimilation, particularly by intermarriage. But now, with the emancipation of the Jews in Eastern Europe, they, too, will undoubtedly acquire similar tendencies to assimilate with their non-Jewish neighbors. Indeed, those who know conditions in Russia are convinced that assimilation there will, in all probability, be much more rapid and intense than in Western countries. Race prejudice in Russia is less active than in Western Europe, provided, of course, that it is not fanned by the reigning classes. Western countries, deprived of the source from which they have been deriving Jews with orthodox tendencies, can therefore not look forward to an increase in the Jewish population within the next few generations. And looking at conditions in countries in which assimilation has been intense and no immigration of Jews has taken place—of which China is perhaps the most drastic example, and Italy and Scandinavia close seconds—the outlook for Jewry in Europe and America is not very bright.

Efforts to Check Assimilation

THOUGHTFUL Jews, eager to maintain Judaism, have recognized the peril of assimilation under present conditions, and have sought remedies with a view to counteracting these tendencies. Various suggestions have been made to prevent this threatening extinction of the Jew. Of course, the orthodox element claims with considerable justice that only a religious revival will assure Judaism a future. We have seen above that in fact only strict adherence to the tenets of the faith keeps the Jew within the pale, and that the least deviation is likely to prove disastrous. But we have also pointed to the fact that under modern industrial conditions it is economically difficult, if not impossible, to keep the Sabbath. It is also economically costly, and socially difficult, to adhere to the dietary laws. These separatist tenets of Judaism disregarded, assimilation and especially intermarriage is inevitable.

These are the reasons mainly why preaching has been of no avail, though not all the Jews agree with this view. Thus, the Jewish Welfare Board distributed a pamphlet among the Jewish soldiers in the United

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States Army warning the faithful against the allurements of Christian maidens. The reform wing of Judaism, however, apparently submits to the inevitable, holds services on Sunday, permits food which is not *Kosher*, and is even not averse to consecrating marriages between Jews and Christians.

It is different with the comparatively small number of Jews who have combined under the Zionist flag. They realize the perils of assimilation, and acknowledge that the separatist tenets of Judaism cannot be maintained under present conditions. If Judaism is to survive as a minority among the nations, they maintain, more strenuous and more radical measures must be taken. Infected by the nationalist movements in Europe during recent years, they seek to re-establish Jewry on its own soil. In other words, they want to create an extensive ghetto in Palestine, and expect that the Jews will thrive there much better than they did in the smaller ghettos in western countries.

Considering that under present conditions assimilation has shown itself to be a dynamic force among the western Jews, and that the old religious bars are impotent to check it, it is clear that this radical measure, if proven feasible, might prove to be the only preservative of Judaism which has thus far been suggested. Of course, it must be borne in mind that the immense number of non-Jews in Palestine may again assimilate the Jewish immigrants brought there by the Zionists. It is also a question whether they can induce a sufficient number of Jews to leave their abodes in Europe and America to settle, and what is of more importance, to remain there. These problems the Zionists must solve in their effort to combat assimilation.

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Judith of Galilee

By Martin Feinstein

TIDE-LONG
By the sea,
I fashion my song,
Tide-long,
By the waters of Galilee.

All day,
From the town,
The little ones play,
All day,
By the sea till the sun goes down.

I wait
For the men
Who gather in late,
I wait
Till they come from the sea again.

May be
They will bring
A gift from the sea,
May be
They will join in the songs I sing.

Dark Saul
From his boat
Will come at my call,
Swarth Saul,
With the husk of the sea in his throat.

Tide-long
By the sea
I fashion my song,
Tide-long
By the waters of Galilee.

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Ornstein

By Paul Rosenfeld

ORNSTEIN is a mirror held up to the world of the modern city. The first of his real compositions are like fragments of some cosmopolis of caves and towers of steel, of furious motion and shafts of electric glare become music. They are like sensitive surfaces that had been laid in the midst of New York, and record not only the clangors but all the violent forms of the city, the beat of the frenetic activity, the intersecting planes of light, the masses of the masonry with the tiny dwarf-like creatures running in and out, the electric signs staining the inky nightclouds. They give again the alarm of dawn breaking upon the crowded, swarming cells; seven o'clock steam whistles on a winter morn; pitiless light filtering over hurrying black droves of humanity; thousands of hurrying workers blackening Fourteenth Street. They picture the very Niebelheim, the hordes of slaves herded by giants of their own creation, the commands and cries of power in the bells, whistles, signals. The grinding and shrieking of loaded trains in the tubes, cranes laboring in the port, rotary engines drilling, turbines churning, are woven through them. Blankets of fog descend upon the river, menacing shapes loom through it, rays of red light seek to cut the mist. Flowers that are grey and black blossom on the ledges of tenement windows giving on bare walls. And human souls and songs that are grey and black like them open on the blind air, and spread their velvet petals, their lustrous soft corollas, into this metal, this dun, this unceasing roar.

PAUL ROSENFELD, who has won recognition as a brilliant critic of art and music, was born in New York in 1890, and received his A.B. from Yale in 1912, followed by a year in the Columbia School of Journalism. He has contributed to "The Dial," "The New Republic," "The Seven Arts," and other periodicals, and is the author of a forthcoming book entitled "Musical Portraits," of which the accompanying paper on Ornstein will form a chapter.

A Resurrection of the Entombed Jewish Spirit

FOR Ornstein was youth. He was the one striving to adjust himself to all this thunder and welter and glare. He was the spring as it comes up through the pavements, the aching green sap. In part, no doubt, he was the resurrection of the most entombed of spirits, that of the outlaw European Jew. He was the breaking down of the walls with which the Jew had blotted out the hateful world. He was Lazarus emerging in his grave-clothes into the new world, the Jewish spirit come up in the day, out from

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the basement and cellar rooms of the synagogue where it had been seated for a thousand years, drugging itself with rabbinical lore, refining almost maniacally upon the intention of some obscure phrase or parable, negating the lure of the world and of experience with a mass of rites and observances and ceremonials, loosing itself in the grey desert stretches of theory or wasting itself in the impossible dream of Zion restored in modern Palestine and Solomon's temple rebuilt in a provincial capital of the Turkish Empire. And Ornstein's music is the music of a birth that is the tearing away of graveclothes grown to the body, the clawing away, stone by stone, of the wall erected against the call of experience which was sure to be death-dealing. The old prohibitions are still active in the terror with which life is viewed, the menace and cruelty of things, the sharpness of edges encountered, the weight of the masses that threaten to fall and overwhelm, the fury and blackness and horror of nature once again regarded. Again and again there passes through it the haggard shrouded figure of the Russian Jew. Again and again it speaks in accents that resemble nothing quite so much as the savage and woeful language of the Old Testament.

But the music of Ornstein is much besides. It is a thing germane to all beings born into the age of steel. It is the expression of all the men who have tried to embrace and love the towering piles, the strange, black, desolate pathways that are the world to-day. The figure that one discerns in the compositions beginning with the "Dwarf Suite," Opus 16, is one that we all have known intimately a space. These pieces are not youth seen through the golden haze of retrospection. They are the expression of groping, fumbling youth as it feels, and as it feels itself to be. They are music young in all its excess, its violence, its sharp griefs and sharper joys, their unreflecting trembling strength. The spring comes up hot and cruel in them. There is all the loneliness of youth in this music, all the mysterious dreams of a world scarce understood, all the hesitancies and blind gropings of power untried. Always, one senses the pavements stretching between steel buildings, the black hurrying tides of human beings, and through them all, the oppressed figure of one searching out the meaning of all this convulsive activity into which he has been born. It is such solitude that speaks in the first "Impression of Notre-Dame," with its grey mounting masses, its cloistral reverberation of bells, its savage calls of the city to one standing alone with the monument of a dead age. Violent uncontrolled passions cry out in the "Three Moods," with their youthful surrender to the moment. The energy of adolescence, unleashed, rejoicing in pure muscular activity, disports itself in the "Shadow Dances," and the "Wild Man's Dance," with its sheer naked beating rhythm. The bitterness of adolescence mocks in the "Three Burlesques," in the "Dance of the Gnomes," with its parodying of clumsy movements. What revolt in the "Piano Sonata." And other emotions timid and uncertain of them-

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selves, uneasy with the swelling sap of springtide, speak their poetry and their pain, tell their tales and are silent, make us remember what once we felt.

"Irrespective of All the Canons and Rules"

THE city, the birth into the new world, youth, exist in the music of Ornstein with all the sharpness of shock because of an imagination of a wonderful forcefulness. There is no indirectness in Ornstein, no vagueness. His tension is always of the fullest, the stiffest. What he feels, what he hears, he sets down, irrespective of all the canons and rules and procedures. Harmony with him is something different than it is with any other composer. Piano colors of a violence and garishness are hurled against each other. The lowest and highest registers of the instrument clash in "Improvisata." Rhythms battle, convulsively, almost. In portions of the "Sinfonietta," five rhythms are to be found warring against each other. Melodic curves, lines, sing ecstatically over turbulent mottled counterpoint in the piano and violin sonatas. The violin sonata is something of an attempt to exhaust all the possibilities of color-contrast contained in the little brown box. In the first "Impression of Notre-Dame," the piano is metallic with the booming of bells. In the second, it is stony, heavy with the snarling, peering, menacing forms of the gargoyles. In the accompaniment to the song "Waldseligkeit," it seems to give the musical equivalent for the substance of wood. No doubt, to one who like Ornstein regards music only as a means of communication, as speech of man to man, and occupies himself only with the communication of his sensations and experiences in briefest, directest, simplest form, there must come moments of the most terrible self-doubt, when all the anathemas of the fathers of the musical church thunder loud in his ears, and other men's forms and proportions seem to make his to shrivel. It was doubtless thankfulness for fortification and sustenance to William Blake, that other "mad" inventor of wild images and designs, that other "rager in the wilds," that made him preface his violin sonata with the Argument of "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell," and defend himself with the verses:

"Once meek, and in a perilous path,
The just man kept his course along
The vale of death.
Roses are planted where Thorns grow,
And on the barren heath
Sing the honey bees. . . .

Till the villain left the paths of ease,
To walk in perilous paths, and drive
The just man into barren climes.

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Now the sneaking serpent walks
In mild humility,
And the just man rages in the wilds
Where lions roam."

And certainly, for us, whatever the pundits claim, the wilds of Leo Ornstein are not so raging and lion-infested. For while one speculates whether these pieces are music or not, one discovers that one has entered through them into the life of another being, and through him into the lives of a whole upgrowing generation.

"From Jeremiah to Dream-Filled Poet"

AT present, however, some of the qualities that were so clearly visible in Leo Ornstein during the first years in which he disclosed himself are somewhat obscured. Something not entirely reassuring has happened to the man. A great deal of the music that he has been composing of late wants the bite his earlier work had. The colors are not so piping hot. The outlines are less bold and jagged, and clear cut. Some of the convulsive intensity, the fury, has passed out of the rhythmic element. The melodies are less acidulous, the moods less unbridled. No doubt, something happier has entered into his music, something more voluptuous and smooth. The 'cello chants passionately and dreamily in the two sonatas Ornstein has written of late for it. The racial element is softened, become gentler and duskier and more romantic. The Jew in it no longer wears his cassock. If he wears a prayer-shawl at all, it is one made of silk. The Jeremiah of the desert has given way to the young amorous dream-filled poet, a poet of the sort that arose among the Jews in Spain during the years of the Moorish ascendancy. Yet, a certain intensity, a certain originality, a certain vein of genius, has undergone eclipse in the change. Something a little brilliant, a little facile, a little undistinguished, has introduced itself, even into the best of the newest pieces. The texture is thinner, the tension slacker. Ornstein does not seem to be putting himself into them with the same directness and completeness with which he put himself into his earlier work. Moreover, occasionally there come from his pen works into which he is not putting himself at all. A choral society of New York a year or two ago produced two small acappella choruses of his that might have been the work of some obscure pupil of Tchaikowsky's. The Piano Sonatina of the funeral march, although by no means as insignificant, is nevertheless uncharacteristic in the resemblances it bears to the music of Ravel. One thing the earlier compositions are not, and that is, derivative. Ornstein, it was plain, had benefited by the achievements of Debussy and Moussorgsky and Scriabine. But he had developed a style of his own, a style that was, for all its crudeness and harshness, personal. In becoming

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again a disciple he reverts to something that he seemed to have left behind him when he wrote his clangorous "Dwarf Suite."

What this new period of Ornstein's composition represents it is not easy to say. Probably, it is a period of transition, a time of the marshalling of forces preparatory to a new and fiercer onslaught. Such a time of gestation might well be necessary to Ornstein's genius. It is possible that he has had to give up something in order to gain something else, to try for less in order to establish himself upon a footing firmer than that upon which he stood. His genius during his first years of creation was lyrical purely. It was a thing that expressed itself in moods, in brief flights, in "*moments musicaux*." He is at his best in his piano preludes, in his small forms. The works composed during this period in the larger forms, the violin sonata excepted, are scarcely achieved. The outer movements of the Grand Sonata for pianoforte, for instance, are far inferior to the central ones. Whatever the merit of some of the individual movements of "The Masqueraders" and the "Poems of 1917," and at times it is not small, the works as a whole lack form. They have none of the unity and variety and solidity of the "Papillons" and the "Carnaval" of Schumann, or the "Valses Nobles et Sentimentales" of Ravel, for instance, works to which they are in certain other respects comparable. As he grew a little older, Ornstein's nature probably began to demand forms beside the briefer, smaller, more episodic ones. It doubtless began to strive for greater scope, duration, development, complexity. And so, in order to gain greater intellectual control over his outflow, to build piles of a bulk that require an entirely different workmanship and supervision than do preludes and impressions, Ornstein doubtlessly has been witholding himself, diminishing the intensity of his fire. In order to learn to organize his material, he has unconsciously lessened its density and vibrancy for the time being.

And, too, it may be the result of a change from a pain-economy to a pleasure-economy. The adolescent has grown into the young man. The adjustment may be made. The poet is no longer forced to mint his miseries and pains alone into art; he is learning to be glad. He may still be seeking to find himself in a world grown different.

The Possible Effect of a Hostile World

AT the same time, there is a distinct possibility that the present period of Ornstein's composition is not a time of preparation for a new flight. There is a distinct possibility that it represents an unwholesome slackening. Stronger men than he have flinched before a hostile world. And Ornstein has found the world very hostile. He has found America absolutely unprepared for his art, possessed of no technique to cope with it. He has very largely been operating in a void. It is not so much that he has been

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tried and found wanting. He has not even been heard. Because the musical world has been unable to follow him, it has dismissed him entirely from its consciousness. Scarcely a critic has been able to express what it is about his music that they like or dislike. They have either ridiculed him or written cordially about him without saying anything. There is nothing more demoralizing for the artist. The virtuosi have shown a like timidity. Scarcely a one has dared perform his music. Most of them have refrained out of policy, unwilling to forfeit any applause. Others have no doubt quite sincerely refused to perform any music that sounded cacophanous to them. For the army of musicians is almost entirely composed of rear-guard. Not a single one of the orchestral conductors in New York has dared consider performing his "Sinfonietta," to say nothing of the early and comparatively accessible "Marche funèbre" and À la chinoise." Of the Philharmonic Society, of course, one expects nothing. But one might suppose that the various organizations allegedly "friendly" to music, eager for the cause of the "new" and the "modern," would see to it that the musician whom such an authority as Ernest Bloch has declared to be the single composer in America who displays positive signs of genius, was given his opportunity. The contrary has been the case. D'Indy's foolish war-symphony, Henry Hadley, Rachmaninoff, David Stanley Smith, even Dvorsky, that person who exists as little in the field of composition as he does in Biarritz, have received and do receive the attention of our powerful ones. It would be small wonder, then, if an artist like Ornstein who, like every real artist, requires the contact of other minds and cannot go on producing hopeless of attaining performance and exhibition, has finally wearied of his efforts.

There are other reasons that might lead one to presume that his latest works represent a decline. For Ornstein has been devoting too much of his energy to concertizing. He has been travelling madly over the United States and Canada for the last few years, living in Pullman sleepers and playing to audiences of all sorts. During the first years that he was in America after the war, he at least played the music that he loved. No one was ready for programs beginning with Korngold and Cyril Scott and ending with Ravel and Scriabine and Ornstein himself. So, little by little, Ornstein began adulterating his programs, adding a popular piece here, another there. Finally, he has been playing music into which he cannot put his heart at all, Liszt and Rubenstein, as well as Beethoven and Schumann. He has been playing it not too well, and continually. Such an existence cannot but dull the man's edge. No one can play the Twelfth Hungarian Rhapsody or the transcription of the Mendelssohn Wedding March or the Rigoletto Fantasy continually without being punished. No one who does not love them can play the Sonata Appassionata or the Études Symphoniques or the waltzes of Chopin long without becoming dulled and spoiled. So with composition become an interval between

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two trains, and expression an attempt to please audiences and to establish oneself with the public as a popular pianist, it is not the most preposterous of thoughts that Leo Ornstein has lost something he once possessed in beautiful and superabundant form.

The Promise of Still Greater Achievement

STILL, it is fairly incredible. It is impossible that great and permanent harm should have been done him already. He was too vital and sane a being to be so easily corrupted. For those who knew him in the first years of his return from Paris, he was nothing if not the genius. He was the man entirely alive, entirely, beautifully functioning. If he was less accomplished, less resourceful and magistral an artist than Strawinsky, for instance, whom he resembles in a certain general way, he was at least already a more human, a more passionate being. It is this immense vitality, this rich temperament, that makes one sure that we are not going to have in Leo Ornstein another Richard Strauss, another Strauss who has never had the many fertile years vouchsafed the other. It makes us certain that he will finally come to terms with his managers and audiences, and that the harm already done him by his way of life will grow no greater. It convinces us that his present mood is but the result of a necessary process of transition from one basis to another, that the man is really summoning himself for the works that will express him in his manhood, and that Ornstein is sure to reach the high heaven of art for which he seemed and still seems bound.

Paul Rosenfeld

EDITORS' NOTE—*In an early number of* THE MENORAH JOURNAL *will appear a contribution from Mr. Leo Ornstein himself, setting forth his own conception of his ideals as a composer, and appealing to Jewish artists to be true to their heritage.*

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The Hebrew Poets as Historians

By Nina Salaman

(Concluded)

IN the first part of this paper, Mrs. Salaman (who is the translator of most of the English renderings given here) discusses the truth and value of the poet's version of history and quotes illuminating examples from various Hebrew poets, from the Biblical singers down to the medieval chroniclers.

WE must now turn, though reluctantly, from the attraction of the poet's history of poetry to the painful poetic records of the barbarities perpetrated upon the people of Israel through the endless night of the Middle Ages. Our liturgies are full of these elegies. Every misfortune which befell Jewish life, especially the miseries suffered under the Crusades, can be traced in the *Kinoth* and *Selichoth* of our poetical literature. The world, and even we ourselves, perhaps fortunately, are apt to forget what we suffered in the Middle Ages. It is better, our sages say, to be among the persecuted than among the persecutors. At all events the persecuted have the privilege of forgiveness. But it is not well to forget, in view of our need for knowledge, both of our people's history and of the effect of that tragic history on their present condition. Except for the contemporary poets, we should have been unable to realize so intimately the tragedy and heroism of Jewry through many centuries.

The liturgy for the Ninth of Ab enshrines many of the historical elegies, such as, to give but one instance, the dirge שכורת ולא מיין of doubtful authorship, with its refrain:

And cry before the Lord,
For thresholds waste,
For thresholds waste;
Cry for thy little ones
Slain of the sword.
Lift up thine hands to Him,
To Him implored.[1]

Sometimes in the Martyrologies a number of Martyrs of different periods are grouped together, as in the record of the Ten Martyrs by Solomon Ephraim ben Aaron Lentschütz of the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century; but the spirit of the ages which made these separate events possible and indeed common is brought home to us all

[1] *Songs of Exile*, p. 93.

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the more acutely. The tortures of these men are described in some detail. These I will not repeat, but give only a few lines here and there in the poem:

Two of the great in Israel were brought forth
To slaughter first: the High Priest Ishmael,
And Rabban Simeon, son of Gamliel,
A prince in Israel. And this one implored,
"O slay me ere ye slay him, lest I see
The death of him who ministers to God!"
And lo the lot fell, and they slew him first.

* * * * *

Mourn, O my people, not yet widowed; still

* * * * *

I see your holiest slaughtered; see their blood
Shed in the Name of Heaven—as even now
The blood of Huspith the Interpreter.
Trembling takes hold on all who hear, and tears
Flow from all eyes, and all delight is dead;
For Eliezer falls, Shamua's son.
How have our strong oppressors fed on us!
How do they give us water of gall to drink—
Slaying Hanina, son of Hakinai!
They will not take a ransom, they must take
The lives of those who speak the Law's sweet words,
Yea, even now the Scribe Yeshebab's life.
Sons of unreason strike us with their fear
More than the kings of earth they slay of us
Many and many; verily they cast
Judah, the son of Dama, unto death!
Ah, Thou hast said, Jacob shall be a fire,
Joseph a flame—lo, the last ashes die.

* * * * *

This hath befallen us. All this I tell
As I beheld it passing through the years
Of bygone ages. And subdued and crushed,
We pour our hearts out supplicating Thee.
Lord, Lord, give ear; O pitying, merciful,
Look from Thine height upon the blood outpoured
Of all Thy righteous. Make an end of blood
Poured out and wasted; wash the stain away,
God, King, who sittest on a gracious Throne.[1]

The Poetry of a Persecuted People

LEOPOLD ZUNZ has done great service in investigating the historical background of the elegies. His chapter entitled "Leiden" or "Sufferings,"[2] on the sufferings of the Jews through century after century, and

[1] *Service of the Synagogue, Day of Atonement*, pp. 179-181.
[2] *Die Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, Ch. II.

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the poems in which these sorrows are reflected, is perhaps more familiar to many of us than the rest of his work, through its first paragraph, which was quoted by George Eliot at the head of the 42nd chapter of Daniel Deronda. It is worth while repeating that fine utterance of the historian of Synagogue poetry:

"If there are ranks in suffering, Israel takes precedence of all the nations —if the duration of sorrows and the patience with which they are borne ennoble, the Jews are among the aristocracy of every land—if a literature is called rich in the possession of a few classic tragedies, what shall we say to a National Tragedy lasting for fifteen hundred years, in which the poets and the actors were also the heroes?"

The *Selichoth* and the *Kinoth* illustrate every phase of persecution from grinding money exactions and the burning of sacred books and manuscripts, to the slaughter of whole communities. As early as the ninth century we have poems illustrating the spirit of the times regarding Israel. A lament of Kalir, unrhymed and in rough metre, begins:

Bend, O my God, Thine ear to them that scorn,
Crying, "What hope ye for? She is not builded."
And hearken to the weeping and the mourning,
The rending garments, and the hoping "When will she be builded?"

Bend, O my God, thine ear to them that say
"Forsaken and forgotten and deserted,
And forever desolate—"
And hearken to our groaning and be jealous
For these thine own, and turn the shining of Thy face
Upon Thy desolate sanctuary.

There are some lines about the special taxes in a poem of the eleventh century, by Isaac Halevi of Lorraine, one of the teachers of Rashi:

Gold, gold, gold!
Thinketh the foe—
Crying to me, give, give,
The while I love God's laws and hold
These dearer far than gold.

Zunz tells us how "the priests strained every nerve to crush the Jews morally and to withdraw all sympathy from them by declaring that 'Jewish' and 'diabolical' were synonymous terms." The rule seemed to be with the Jews to listen and give no reply, but as Zunz says, "tears were wrung from all the poets of the Synagogue." A verse in a *Selicha* by Samuel Ha-Cohen (16th century) tells of this silence:

It may be He will pity those in shame,
That bear reproaches and that hold their peace;

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That wait His victory and trust His name,
Because His mercies never wholly cease.
It may be He will pity.

Phases of hope, pride, humility, and despair follow one another, as when one anonymous poet says:

A people brought through water and through fire
Must surely come forth cleansed at last from sin.

And further:

They scorn me, seeing my redemption long delayed,
They say the day of my salvation passeth like a cloud and like a shade;
That no end cometh ever to my woe, no limit to my fall.
I hear them in my shame—and weep my tears of gall.

There is a note of comfort from Ibn Ezra:

If to My Law thou wilt cling
Thou shalt be free as a king.
But if the way of pride thy bosom craves,
Thine is the lot of a slave of slaves.

A Record of Heroism and Martyrdom

THE tale of barbarities never pauses as the centuries advance. During the first Crusade the cry of "baptism or death" arose for the Jewish community of Mainz on the Rhine, and men, women and children assembled and put an end to their own lives. Kalonymos ben Jehudah, who lived about 1160 and wrote many liturgical poems, describes these sufferings in a *Selicha* which is omitted from most printed copies of the liturgy —possibly on account of the censor—but is to be found in manuscript.[1] It is a long poem with an acrostic including the letters of the alphabet and of the name "Kalonymos bar Rabbi Jehudah." I will select a few lines:

They crush them into slavery beneath their yoke;
They kill, hang, slay with every kind of slaughter.

Further the threat of the cross is indicated:

They scheme to mark their garment with the dreaded sign
To make them quit Thy fear and seek their vanities.

Together fathers, children—bridegrooms, brides
Hasten to death as to the marriage bower;
Children of love, the plants of Thy delight,
Destroyed, cut off, delivered unto death.
Thou, God, hast sworn by Isaac bound of old
To mutiply his seed like stars of heaven.
Look now, and see their binding on this altar,
Lovely in life, and not in death divided.

[1] את הקול Cambridge University Library. MS. ADD 447, Fol. 206B-207B.

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We hear of French Rabbis slaying the young pupils to save them from forcible baptism, of Rabbis flayed alive, of Jewish men and women thrown into seething pots, broken on the wheel, placed under the wine-presses, buried alive, and suffering even more unspeakable tortures. We wonder at the comparative lack of bitterness or recrimination in the poems, and marvel at the long patience and unconquerable hope. The Jews were held responsible for drought, pestilence, conflagrations—every misfortune in almost every country in Europe.

The terrible massacres during the Crusades took place chiefly in the towns along the Rhine—where entire congregations were demolished. A lament of the 14th century is quoted by Zunz. I give it as he does, in prose, not having obtained the original.

"Woe unto you Basle, Ueberlingen, Ulm, Esslingen, Augsburg, Nördlingen! Thy helpless children O daughter of Zion! were thrown into the torrents, hanged, stoned, slaughtered. Weep for Eger, Salzburg, Breslau, and the many places, which I know not how to name! Lamen over Provence, France, Savoy, where the Nazarene laid my holy places in ashes, drew the pictures of his saints in my sacred books and patched his boots with the scrolls.

In Corbeil the soil was ploughed over R. Menachem, and R. Isaac the reader perished. In Kalisch, Cracow and Glogau the sword was raging. A lament and a wail unto thee, O lovely Vienna, for thee, O lauded Worms! where R. Aaron offered up his life and expired amidst tortures."

"All That the Foe Hath Wrought Upon My Soul"

THE 14th century, which opened with terrible massacres in Magdeburg, has been described as the cruellest through which the Jews have passed. Zunz expresses wonder that a single Jew could have survived in Germany. Many of the names of the martyrs have been preserved. A poem by Pinchas Halevi ben Joseph refers to these disasters:

Books cannot tell nor written page unroll
All that the foe hath wrought upon my soul—
Day after day they rage,
They rise up to destroy me age on age.
I stand aghast, bereft of all my strength,
Seeing the chosen with no ransom left at length.
All my salvation, with no refuge anywhere,
Lies but in fasting and abides in prayer.

But how shall he not hope to be redeemed at last
That sees indeed redemptions ever newly grown?
Lo! in my ears are mighty praises and a trumpet blast,
As when a sign is lifted on the mountains, and a trumpet blown.

"On the first of the tenth month," Zunz quotes from Baruch, a con-

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temporary writer of about 1349, "the old and young put on their shrouds, and went forth to breathe out their souls in fire." It was then that many Jews fled from the south and center of Germany eastward. An elegy of the time cries in a strong rough style of Hebrew verse:

They have spilt the blood of mine assembled throng—
Wilt Thou restrain Thee, O Lord, so long?

We are called unclean,
All of us erring men.
Hated of the peoples,
Our spirit tempest-tost,
Hiding, as for fear of lions,
We shun the open street.
Children and women lie slain,
Dashed against the rocks;
Smitten, destroyed—
For sport of the proud—
Wilt Thou restrain Thee still, O Lord?

To those who would study these events in detail and so gain a fuller impression of Jewish heroism through those times of darkness, I would again recall and recommend the Zunz chapter before-mentioned, for it is impossible in the space of a short paper to give any idea of the crowded events there briefly recorded, and the numbers of poems which give voice to those disasters. The German original contains notes and the Hebrew headings of the poems quoted, but a useful English translation, though shorn of these references, was contributed by the late Dr. A. Löwy, to the first volume of the *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, published by the Society of Hebrew Literature in 1872.

"Human Documents" of History

THE poets do in truth, more effectually I think than any other writers, as these elegies show, make and write history at the same time; for, with them, both actions are unconscious. They give the contemporary touch by the outpouring of their own feelings on the events they are living through, and they thus provide the real "human documents" for future historians.

Sometimes, it is true, the contemporary touch may give us an intenser feeling than the event seems to warrant; as when Meir of Rothenburg, in his prison in the tower of Ensisheim, wrote a lament over the burning of the Scrolls of the Law in Paris, which resembles in its beauty and passion and despair some of the finest dirges over the desolation of Zion. It was in the latter half of the 13th century, when twenty-four

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wagon loads of Hebrew manuscripts were consigned to the flames, that this poet-hero cries:[1]

Ask, is it well, O thou consumed of fire,
With those that mourn for thee,
That yearn to tread thy courts, that sore desire
Thy sanctuary;

That, panting for thy land's sweet dust, are grieved,
And sorrow in their souls,
And by the flames of wasting fire bereaved,
Mourn for thy scrolls?

* * * * *

Ask of the welfare of the man of woe,
With breaking heart, in vain
Lamenting ever for thine overthrow,
And for thy pain;

Of him that crieth as the jackals cry,
As owls their moaning make,
Proclaiming bitter wailing far and nigh;
Yea, for thy sake.

In the 14th verse, he appeals in his despair to Mount Sinai:

Cast off thy robe; in sackcloth folds of night,
O Sinai! cover thee;
Don widow's garb, discard thy raiment bright
Of royalty.

Lo, I will weep for thee until my tears
Swell as a stream and flow
Unto the graves where they two princely seers
Sleep calm below:

Moses; and Aaron in the Mountain Hor;
I will of them inquire:
Is there another to replace this Law
Devoured of fire?

There are passages showing the singer's intense devotion to the Law and his feeling that with its desecration God has left him:

The mingled cup shall taste as honey sweet
Where tears o'erbrim and wine;
Yea, and thy chains upon my shackled feet
Are joy divine.

* * * * *

But I am desolate and sore bereft,
Lo! a forsaken one:
Like a sole beacon on a mountain left,
A tower alone.

[1] *Songs of Exile*, p. 82.

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True to the Hebrew way, the last of the 34 verses is full of hope:

My heart shall be uplifted on the day
Thy Rock shall be thy light,
When He shall make thy gloom to pass away,
Thy darkness bright.

I have enlarged, perhaps unnecessarily, upon this poem, but it seems to be a good instance of the expression of the poet who sees events through his own emotional experience. But he is, in truth, no less valuable a historian for that. He is the historian of the heart of man. He is a more powerful inspirer to heroic deeds through his idealization of the past. And through such idealization we may obtain the truest understanding of history.

Bialik: A Poet of Present-Day Suffering

JUST one word in conclusion as to more modern poets. The sufferings, and the songs which give voice to them, have been renewed in every age. They had not ceased even in our own day when the Hebrew poems of Bialik were but of late giving utterance to the misery of Jewish life in Russia. Many of his poems seem to struggle against a weight of hopelessness, as in his אבן חציר העם which closes with these words:

Ages of endless wandering, exile too vast for endurance,
Turned all the heart of them backward; counsel has died from the people.

Taught of the rod and the lash, can they perceive now their anguish—
Shame and pain of the spirit—aught but the thrall of the body?

Have they the heart to care for other than care of the moment,
Men that are lost in the darkness, deep in the pit of the exile?

Can they now lift up their soul to the day or be prophets of morning,
Draw out their hope to the end, send on the word to the future?

Never will these awake, except that the scourge awake them;
Never will these arise, with only the ruin to rouse them.

Dried is the leaf from the tree, the hyssop is blown to the whirlwind;
Waste is the vine and the flower decayed—can the dew now revive them?

Yea, when the trumpet sounds, when the banner at last is uplifted,
Then shall the dead arise? even the dead awaken?

It may well be that Bialik, silenced by the horror of the pogroms, may yet be heard with the joyful poets of the future telling the story of a new and better world.

Nina Salaman

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"Eili, Eili, Lomo Asavtoni?"*

By Maximilian Hurwitz

(To the memory of the Jewish martyrs who fell in the recent massacres in Poland and the Ukraine)

O vos omnes, qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte, si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus.
—*Lamentationes I*, 12.

Maximilian Hurwitz was born in Shati, Russia, in 1887; came to America in 1904, and was educated in the schools of Pittsburgh, Pa. (University of Pittsburgh, A.B., 1915). For about a year he edited "The Jewish Deaf," and recently he was on the staff of the "American Jewish News." He has contributed articles, stories, etc., to various periodicals.

IN Lithuania there once lived a just and holy man named Rabbi Israel ben Isaac. His deep learning and wisdom, his great piety and zeal, his extreme humility and meekness, gained for him the reverence and love of his brethren. From far and wide men came to question him about the Torah, or to seek his counsel and blessing. He reunited the house divided against itself, admonished the delinquent, prayed for the sick. And all were welcome to his home and table.

His appearance and bearing were prepossessing and stately. Though rich in years, their weight sat lightly on his shoulders. The white hair contrasted strangely with the ruddy face and twinkling brown eyes; the tall and erect figure retained its youthful vigor. A flowing black garb, fastened with a girdle, wrapped the massive body. And as he moved about with slow and measured gait, his left hand inserted in the girdle, his right hand stroking the long beard, his countenance expressive of contentment and calm, he seemed a Patriarch of the ancient days.

At his approach, the street-vendor suspended his bargaining, the market-woman her scolding, and even the drunken peasants desisted from their brawling; and they remained respectfully silent until he had passed by. For the peace and grace of God seemed to emanate from his presence.

* * *

DURING the summer Rabbi Israel was wont to rise at dawn and roam in the fields and woods. The hour when moon and sun contend for mastery, when nature is fairest and freshest, when men and beasts still rest them from their labors and all is solemnly still, he deemed the most

* "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?"

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appropriate for contemplation and communion with his Maker. And there he lingered until the hour of the morning prayers, when he repaired to the synagogue to worship with the congregation.

On both sides of him, as he walked along the highway, lay orchards and immense fields of rye, wheat, potatoes, and flax; beyond were meadows hemmed in by forests and thickly studded with daisies, buttercups, and clover. And as he looked at the limpid blue sky, the cornstalks trodden down by the wanton breeze, the flowers washed with morning dew, the dark, prayerful pines; as he drank in the sweet air, and listened to the calls of the birds and beetles, his heart leaped forth in ecstasy toward the Creator of all this bounty and all this beauty.

About one mile from the town there was a parting of roads. A cross, with a life-size image of Jesus of Nazareth nailed to it, stood nearby. Rabbi Israel was troubled by its presence, and in passing turned his head away from it, murmuring in Hebrew, "Thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it, for it is a devoted thing." And the sight of peasants prostrate and praying before it filled him with compassion. "These, too, O Lord," he sighed, "thou hast made in thine image: why withholdest thou thy light from them?"

* * *

ON a certain Sabbath Rabbi Israel rose very early, donned his choicest garments, and set out on his customary rambles. He was soon lost in reverie. Profound silence reigned all around. A fog veiled field and forest.

But Sabbath peace and joy deserted him this day. The lingering darkness and blinding mist depressed his spirit. He sat down upon one of the cone-shaped piles of stones in the road and fell to brooding over the sad fate of his people.

Suddenly the silence was broken by a voice of awful sweetness and strength, crying:

"My people, my people, why have ye forsaken me?"

Startled by the strange voice and stranger words, he looked up and found himself near the cross. And lo! in front of it, pleadingly gazing at Rabbi Israel, stood the disengaged Jesus. He it was who had called.

The sight of the revived Nazarene terrified and transfixed Rabbi Israel. He remained motionless and still as Jesus drew nearer and spoke, saying:

"My people, my people, why have ye forsaken me? Am I not Yeshua ben Yoseph, flesh of your flesh, blood of your blood? For nigh two thousand years I have endured the pangs of crucifixion and longed for your

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pity and love to still my pains; instead ye have regarded me as an abomination.

"Ye have suffered untold horrors, I know, and ye have been grievously wronged; but behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow.

"For the crown of thorns which they put upon my head was as a garland of roses compared with that I bear when wolves take my name in vain, and turn my words of love into words of hate, and my message of peace into a message of murder.

"And the vinegar mingled with gall which they gave me to drink was as cool wine to him who toileth in the sun compared with that I drink when men revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

"And the nails which they drove through my limbs but crucified my body; but my soul is crucified when dogs devour my divinely-gifted brethren, and swine wallow in their precious blood, for my name's sake.

"Suffer me to come unto thee, O Israel! Forgive thy son, prodigal of his brethren's blood!"

Rabbi Israel, now recovered from his stupefaction, was moved to the very depths of his being. His heart throbbed with rapture, his eyes beamed with love, a heavenly smile played upon his face, as he lifted his hands in prayer and exclaimed:

"Sing, my soul, O rejoice! Praise the Lord, who this day hath shown me his greatest miracle. For greater than the dawn, and fairer than the sunrise, is the birth of truth and love.

"Hatred is blind, Love alone seeth. We remembered our slaughtered sons, our defiled daughters, the sacred scroll of the Torah torn and trampled upon, the horror, the shame of it all, and our hearts filled with bitterness toward thee, O martyred brother of mine! In our blindness we saw not thine agony, nor understood that if we suffered and sorrowed, we suffered and sorrowed together, and therein found strength and consolation, while thou didst languish alone, alone.

"But our loving Father hath opened mine eyes, and He will open the eyes of all thy brethren. I will bring thee before them and say, 'Arise, my people, give forth a song, for the light is come and the glory of the Lord is revealed unto us. This our brother was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found.' And they shall rejoice over thee as a bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, and the earth shall be filled with love on this gladsome Sabbath day.

"Come, my beloved, to meet the bride; let us hail this glorious Sabbath!"

And Israel was about to clasp the hand of Jesus, when a throng of peasants, drunken, furious, brandishing axes and scythes, drove along,

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crying, "Death to the enemies of Jesus!" Espying the rabbi near the cross, they rushed upon him and slew him.

* * *

And there stood Jesus, full of infinite anguish, weeping bitterly, pleading, pleading, pleading:

"Eili, eili, lomo asavtoni?"

Maximilian Hurwitz

AN early issue of THE MENORAH JOURNAL *will contain a paper on "The Rights of Minorities" by the noted English novelist and critic, Gilbert Cannan.*

Among other articles will be "The Prelude to Present-Day Poland," a survey of the events and conditions which have led up to the present state of affairs in the "new democracy," by Archibald J. Wolfe:

"Jews in Science," by Dr. Benjamin Harrow (author of "From Newton to Einstein")—a brilliant story of the original contributions made by Jewish scientists, including the latest of the giants, Albert Einstein:

"Tales of Medieval Travelers," a fascinating potpourri of anecdotes and facts gathered from original sources by the noted English traveler and collector, Elkan N. Adler.

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A New Menorah Phase

By Nathan Isaacs

THE following address by the Chairman of the Menorah Educational Conference, at the recent Convention in New York (December, 1919), illuminates the changed conditions among the students since the founding of the first Menorah Society in 1906. To meet these changed conditions, the Menorah Convention adopted a comprehensive program of activities in which the professors and other teachers, organized in the Menorah Educational Conference, will take their part in the development of the Menorah work. A detailed report of the Convention appears in the Menorah Bulletin, copies of which may be had on request.

ASSUMING in my Sabbatical year the amphibious character of a Teaching Fellow, half-teacher, half-student, I am enjoying once more something of the student's outlook on the world. But it is a changed world. The twenty years that Rip Van Winkle slept did make some difference in the life of New York. But I'd lay a wager with old Rip that Jewish student life in America has moved faster and farther in the last fifteen years than Colonial life in New York did in the twenty years of his nap or even in any period of twice that length. To match his Revolution we have the World War as an element in the change. It is too early to describe the mark it has left on the student body or to tell whether it is an indelible mark or not—but this much is clear: everybody is shouting for quite a different "George" than the one whose fat image was revered a few years ago. Rip and I have learned to be a little careful, and slow to make assumptions.

War, however, is by no means the most important source of change in the fundamental conditions facing Jewish students in America. After all, the great disturbance of our time has affected personally only one generation of undergraduates—an undergraduate generation averages only three years, you must remember, or by reason of great strength, as the Psalmist says, four years. Fifteen years ago the difficulties in the way of organizing a Jewish collegiate society were almost insuperable. Today the great menace to effective work seems to be that there are too many of them. There are Jewish fraternities, sororities, students' houses, Zionist societies, synagogues and Hebrew-speaking societies, besides several other kinds *de facto* if not *de jure* limited to Jews, such as socialist clubs, social clubs, and the like. Fifteen years ago the actual numbers of Jews in American colleges were so much smaller than the corresponding numbers today as to be almost negligible. Those who did go (or rather were sent) to college were largely recruited from families of German Jews who had become pretty much dejudaized. In fact, there was even a slight tendency to deny or at least not to advertise that one was a Jew where one's whole education, his traditions, his background and his prejudices had been drawn entirely from non-Jewish sources. Today the predominant element is, of course, of eastern European origin or extraction, and the percentage equipped with a little Jewish learning, or at least acquainted with Jewish traditions, is comparatively large. In fact, some of the men in college today have really fine foundations for scholarly work in Judaica. At all

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events the field for Menorah work is wonderfully fertile. Fifteen years ago there was hardly a tie between the Jewish students in a college and the nearest Jewish community. Gradually, however, there has developed a tendency on the part of the community to make much of the Jewish student on the one hand, and to exploit him on the other. He or she has been welcomed into the Jewish settlements, Sunday Schools, Junior Councils, the more or less disguised Temple auxiliary clubs, the Zionist movement, Jewish journalism, and what I might call for lack of a better term, "Jewish politics." The ecclesiastically-minded now see the importance of winning the student body for future membership in the synagogue or temple; the publishers want them among present and future subscribers to their publications; the Zionists want them to sell shekalim; the socialists want them to spread the gospel according to Marx; the sisterhoods and councils want to provide for their future membership; the Jewish forum wants speakers. This interest of the community is good in its way, but it is not always calculated to promote academic interests. The community is more interested in defending the truth, as our Secretary would say, than in discovering it. But whatever the cause, and whatever the motives may be, fifteen years have witnessed a complete reversal of conditions in Jewish student life in the American university.

The Present Stage of Menorah Work

LITTLE wonder then if the Menorah problem—the problem of furthering Jewish culture and ideals among college men and women—has passed through several stages in the meantime. It is beside my present purpose to claim for the Menorah credit for its part in the evolution of the new Jewish student body, except that I may suggest that the Menorah has been in many respects a pioneer among Jewish student activities, such as the holding of intercollegiate conventions, the publication of a high-class journal, the arrangement of lectures open to the entire student body, the offering of prizes to encourage scholarly work, the establishment of Menorah libraries and the like. But it is a fact that by meeting some of the most apparent needs of the Jewish students the Menorah has been a participant in the creation and development of new and higher needs. In a sense, its own work, even apart from the changed surroundings in which it must function, has made some of its older immediate aims obsolete through accomplishment. In one sense, the whole initial effort has been so far successful that a new stage of Menorah work is in progress: We have succeeded in "selling" our Menorah brands to the student body, and now we must "deliver the goods!"

The Need of Productive Scholarship

IN the first stage of our work the problem was how to interest a scattered, disorganized, neglected and indifferent group of students in learning something about Jewish culture and ideals. Little attention was paid to the distressing fact that the goods were not in a deliverable state. The literature in existence was unfortunately either above or below the heads of college students. They could not be given the sources or the polyglot literature, nor could they get much satisfaction out of the puerile Sunday School stuff that had been turned out in English. Our first assumption, then, if we ever really made it, was all wrong: There was no ready-made body of literature, from which the newly awakened hunger for Jewish knowledge could be satisfied. Inspiration needs something to feed upon. So we had to rely for matter on our lecturers who were vaguely supposed to be steeped in the sources of Jewish lore. But here another disillusionment was in store for us. The Jewish scholars of

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the country, excluding the Rabbis who, of course, represent a limited point of view, could be counted on the fingers of one hand. And these were men, naturally enough, who had approached Judaica through the gate of philology. Their knowledge of Jewish law, for example, was not balanced by a training in general jurisprudence. Their information on Jewish folklore one could hardly expect to be enlightened by an understanding of folklore. They stumbled over many precious fragments of archaeology, but archaeology was not their suit. It soon became apparent that if we wanted Jewish material to be at the disposal of men specializing in all the fields of academic endeavor, we should have to do two things that no other organization includes within its program: First, disabuse the minds of the academic world of the bias against Jewish studies based on the nonsensical notion that all such studies are a branch of theology; then, encourage academic men to exploit for the benefit of their specialties — jurisprudence, sociology, ethics, politics, economics, philosophy, or whatever they may be—the hitherto unnoticed treasure-house of Jewish experience. In other words, a faculty department of the Menorah is needed to guide and make effective the work of the student department.

The Menorah Educational Conference

THAT Faculty Department has now been organized. It is the Menorah Educational Conference—made up of college teachers in all branches of work interested in Jewish culture and ideals. Its task is not easy. Scholarship cannot be directed mechanically. But its attention can be invited in directions into which the ordinary guides do not lead. We hope to begin our work with a careful survey of the studies heretofore made along Menorah lines by men now in American college faculties. Perhaps after the lapse of another fifteen years our successors will feel called upon to make another survey. May I not venture to prophesy that they will find the field which we now see fallow, developed and fertile and yielding a hundredfold crop? We have no cure-all to offer for the ills that have befallen Jewry—being more concerned for the Shechina which is in Galuth than for the Galuth itself—but may we not feel that if Israel is ever to win due appreciation among the nations, that appreciation must filter down from the circles of higher learning into which the Conference is carrying the Menorah idea?

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THE MENORAH JOURNAL

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THE
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In Memoriam

By Martin Feinstein

1

WHEN Cohen died, he prayed,
When Jones kicked in, he swore,
But I reckon it meant the same
T' the guy at the golden door,
For there was a cuss in Ike's prayer, I'm afraid,
And a prayer in Jonesy's cuss.
(Aye, so it seemed to us.)

2

There's poppies enough t' go round,
And crosses t' stick in the ground,
There's heaven for them that were blest,
And medals enough for the rest.

3

I remember what Ike once said,
"This business has gone t' my head,
It's made me as mad as a loon.
D'ye think it'll sizzle out soon?"

4

Eh oh, my brother Jesus,
They rigged ye up in state,
In a khaki coat and a gun t' tote,
Did they think ye could learn t' hate?

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The valleys are drowned in the morning mist,
Yon hill is an island of gold,
But your eyes are unstirred by the wonder, unwist,
Ah, lad, and your face is cold.

The armies have gathered and gone,
My buddy and I are alone,
A queer little body at that,
With a hole through the top of his hat,
A queer little soul t' the last,
No fuss, just crumpled, and passed.

The ranks of the dead go marching by,
What can Jesus do but die?

Eh oh, my little brother,
They rigged ye up in state,
In a khaki coat and a gun t' tote,
But ye never could learn t' hate!

5

We buried Jesus on the hill,
Glory hallelujah!
The rain soaked down and the wind blew shrill,
Glory hallelujah!
Cheer up, soldier, sling your gun,
What's been done can't be undone,
We'll all be buried, every one,
Glory hallelujah!
The ranks of the dead go marching by,
What can Jesus do but die?

6

You'll never see your buck no more,
(O Eliza, lil' Liza Jane)
He's a-struttin' through the golden door,
(O Eliza, lil' Liza Jane)
He's ogelin' all the cherubim,
An' the Lord Hisself is a-greetin' him,
(O Eliza, lil' Liza Jane).

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Have ye ever seen a nigger's blood?
(O Eliza, lil' Liza Jane)
It's red as my own, an' jest as good,
(O Eliza, lil' Liza Jane)
I've seen it drip from a slatherin' wound,
A-droppin' an' seepin' into the ground,
(O Eliza, lil' Liza Jane).

I saw him grin an' hold his side,
(O Eliza, lil' Liza Jane)
A-soppin' dark with the red life-tide,
(O Eliza, lil' Liza Jane)
I laid him down in the mud to sleep,
An' prayed the Lord his soul to keep,
(O Eliza, lil' Liza Jane).

7

It took a shrapnel shell,
Spat from the jaws of hell,
T' bust the color line,
Till even a fool could tell
A nigger's a man, and man's divine.
The ranks of the dead go marching by,
What can Jesus do but die?

8

"Let us pray for the souls of the slain."
That sounds all right, in the main;
No great harm done, I guess,
It'll ease us, if nothing less.

The guns are ploughing the earth,
(This is the red-dawn's birth),
And sowing a terrible seed,
And reaping the crop with speed.

Why are the guns so greedy?
Why are the reapers so needy?

Here's a guy with his guts all out,
Let's pray for him first, let us shout,
Maybe he'll hear us in time,
And turn his face from the slime.

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Wake up, Jesus! Rouse up, lad!
Wake up, brother! It's too bad.

Or maybe he wasn't Jesus at all,
But a thief, or a pimp in a dancing-hall.
That's what he was, and he offered me
Tribute of all his thievery,
And the freedom of his dive,
If we should come out of the valley alive.

A thief, a pimp—so let him lie,
We are good people, you and I;
You will not have aught to say,
You will not want to pray.

Ah, but the grass and the brambles cry:
"The ranks of the dead go marching by!"

9

It's a jolly world, if you watch the sight,
And it's man's inalienable right
To rot on a cross on Golgotha, forgot
By God and men, or break apart and rot
In a rat-invaded Flanders trench,
Contributing his carcass to the stench.

Now I lay me down to sleep——
To sleep——

10

The sum and the glory is this,
The rest is but mise-en-scène,
And if I have drawn it amiss,
I'm a prattler and charlatan.

The crown and the cross and the night,
The darkness, and maybe a light.

Martin Fenimore

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The Hebrew Contribution to the Americanism of the Future

By Hartley Burr Alexander

The First Annual Zunz Memorial Lecture

(*Concluded*)

III

IN the first portion of this essay, published in the February issue, Prof. Alexander describes the common goal of all civilization—a symphonic harmony of peoples and aspirations. In America especially we are struggling towards this ideal. To attain it we should heed the experience of "the most imperishing of peoples," the Hebrews, and profit by the rich spiritual treasure they have bestowed upon us. "From the Hebrew we derive the whole imaginative frame within which human life is conceived and through which spiritual truth is made vivid and moving."

THE sense of the significance of history, of the meaning of before and after in human events, of life as a growth with a fruition, marks the body of ancient Hebrew literature with a singular unity, like the stamp of a single seal; it touches the sacred writings not merely as the atmosphere of a tradition, but as the genius of a people and as a philosophy of the world. It is not extraordinary, it was indeed inevitable, that such a conception, recorded in the thought and, as it were, expounded in the dramatic facts of Israelitic history, should have laid hold profoundly upon the imaginations of the peoples who have adopted the Hebrew writings as in part their own Dispensation. The course of Christian civilization is deeply guided by this same sense of teleology, this same demand for cosmic drama as the background of life, which permeates the Hebrew Scriptures. It is doubtful if any one other conception has so constantly and variously entered into the formation of our culture. If anywhere we are to seek for the manifestation of acculturation, it is here.

One need not go beyond our American history for the obvious illustration. Three hundred years ago the Pilgrim colonists of Massachusetts were contemplating their westward voyage; the range of their ideas would have been utterly simple had they not possessed one inestimable record of human experience, the Bible. This book formed their minds and dominated their characters; its conceptions were their conceptions; and any reader of Governor Bradford's moving journal will perceive at once that the key to the whole enterprise was a convic-

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tion of the sanctity of covenants and belief in a Providential guidance through the wilderness into a Promised Land. Not less striking as an example, as it was not less arduous as an undertaking, was the migration of the Mormons, in the last century, into the deserts of the West. Here again the intellectual and moral foundations for a truly impressive achievement in statecraft were inspired primarily by the Old Testament writings; and fantastic as some phases of Mormonism are, as a whole the movement stands forth as a notable instance of the capacity of men to be moved to great hazards and high action by the ideals of another race remote in land and time. Nor is it only such religious groups as the Pilgrims and the Mormons that have been moved by these ideals. Take the messages of the Presidents of the United States, especially those which have been composed upon occasions of great public moment, and there will be found throughout them, running like a clear course, this same simple yet austere confidence in the justifications of history, not for the United States alone, but for the United States as a participant and a maker in the whole movement of Earth's nations.

The Hellenic and the Hebraic

I DO not, of course, mean to say that no nation apart from the influence of Hebrew tradition has felt, or would feel, the significance of history: that were notably false. But I do assert that no great literature is so penetrated and so toned by such a conception as is the Hebrew, and I also say, what is patent truth, that it is just in its Hebraic tone that this conception has been assimilated into Occidental civilization, and I think in an especial degree into democratic civilization. It is a commonplace of the history of our culture that the roots of what are highest in it are two, an Hebraic and an Hellenic. From one and the other of these we derive most of the conceptions by which we order our lives. In many particulars there are contrasts between the two types of heritage, but there are also not a few striking parallels and in certain cases at least there are subtle amalgamations of elements derived from each.

I have in mind certain ideas that move very deeply in our institutions and in our modes of thought,—so deeply that they may indeed be termed forms of conduct. The idea of Law is one of these; and the idea of Justice, which is both the motive and the measure of law; and a third is the idea of Wisdom, as the ordinator of life; and a fourth is the idea of Providence. Each of these ideas is pillar-like in the edifice of our civilization, and all of them, in the forms which they bear, derive from both the Greek and the Hebrew sources. They are complex as great ideas always are, and in a particular sense they are complex of their

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double origin, through which, if they are to be understood in their full bearing on our lives, it is most instructive that they be seen.

Consider the first of these, the idea of Law. Both peoples, Greek and Hebrew, were intensely conscious of this, and each possessed a variety of terms by which to characterize it: for the Greek, law was *nomos*, a thing apportioned, *thesmos* or *themis*, a thing established, *dike*, a custom-sanctioned right, or it was a decree (*psephisma*) or enactment of the people; for the Hebrew, it was *torah*, a direction, *mishpat*, a judgment, or it was a testimony, a precept, a thing engraven, a commandment. Both groups of expression rest upon similar backgrounds of experience, and yet, even in the nomenclatures, there is always some hint of the cleft-like divergence of the final conceptions. For the Greek thought leans, as the terms themselves indicate, toward the structural, the constitutive aspect of law; hence towards its objective source and measures. "All human laws are fed by one law, the law divine," says Heraclitus, "which prevails over all, and suffices for all, and surpasses all"; and herein, at its beginning, he expresses the spirit of that Greek philosophy whose great quest was the discovery and contemplation of the laws of nature, not that man might dream of their alteration but that he might compose his soul in conformity with them. The Hebrew conception, on the other hand, has in it throughout something of that sense of moral peril—fear lest the law be broken, fear lest nature veer man from rectitude—which is symbolized in the image of Moses when with anger he waxed hot and cast the tables out of his hand and brake them beneath the mount. There is a radical difference between law as the formulation of custom, ours or nature's, and law as the instrument and expression of a good to which men but precariously hold; and it is this difference which separates the Hellenic and the Hebrew, the scientific and the moral elements in our own conception of the ordering of life. Nor need I point out that priceless as is the ideal of form and structure which the Greeks have given us, it could be but empty and monstrous were it uncorrected by the not less priceless insight into man's moral responsibility which is the rock upon which Hebrew culture is built.

Prometheus and Job

THE conceptions of Justice and Wisdom show the same type of divergence, as between the two peoples. At its height, in Plato, Justice was for the Greek a harmony of the virtues, an inward comportment, almost a bearing, an attitude; for the Hebrew it was an emergence from trial, a justification, the triumphant righteousness of a man passed through burnings, like the three brethren of Daniel. The active, the dramatic element is felt to be essential; there must be a moral revelation;

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there must be an agony and a theophany: and the ancient books abound in the illustration of how a man must wrestle with angels, of how he must grind the mill of strangers, of how he must be proven by famine and by pest, that his salvation may be secure. Similarly, of Wisdom. Aristotle, with his meticulous classifications, sets in series art (*techne*), science (*episteme*), prudence (*phronesis*), wisdom (*sophia*), and intuition (*nous*); and with Greek inevitability, he finds essential Wisdom to lie in the union of science and intuitive reason within a sphere which is in fact contemplative, and not active. In contrast the Hebrew conception of Wisdom—again dramatic—is a combination of practical sagacity and of wistful faith. The practical sagacity is witnessed in the wisdom of Solomon, in his traditional judgments, in the proverbs and maxims which bear his name; the faith, at times rising into a veritable passion for illumination, is source of most that makes sublime the Books of the Prophets and the Psalms of the Temple service.

All of these conceptions—Law, Justice, Wisdom,—are colored by the fourth, that of Providence. The similarities and contrasts of *Prometheus Bound* and the *Book of Job* have fascinated many minds and have been many times expounded. Nevertheless, I do not think the subject yet exhausted; and in particular the comparison affords an enlightening insight into the essential bearings of the idea of Providence. The name Prometheus, like the word Providence, means foresight; but the foresight of the Titan is distinctively an inactive and indeed helpless contemplation of the inevitable course of Nature. Prometheus draws a proud, if bitter consolation, from his apprehension of *Ananke*—Necessity, those eternal and inevitable laws of nature from whose operation not Zeus himself can escape; his sufferings are bearable not because he looks forward either to vengeance or vindication, but because he knows that in the roll of centuries injustice shall find its balance, and with ageing Time the scales weigh even. The whole tragedy impresses one as if it were but an enlargement of that strange saying accredited to Anaximander, "all things shall make reparation to one another for their injustices, according to the ordinances of Time." Contrast with Prometheus, Job. Here is no clear-sighted knowledge of Destiny. Rather, at the last as at the first the smitten and tried patriarch is ignorant of all save the greatness of the power that encompasses him—of this, and of the great fact, fundamental for him, that somehow he can trust this power. Prometheus is silent at the first, self-sufficient throughout, and hopeless everywhere. Job is silent at the last, self-sufficient nowhere, and never utterly despairing. And the reason is that Prometheus has his eyes fixed upon high and indifferent fates; Job, with the men of his race, can conceive of no allotment unaccompanied by a divine solicitude. Over against the saying of Anaximander I would set that of Ecclesiastes which, if I interpret it

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aright, goes to the heart of the Hebrew conception of the ways of Providence: "He hath made everything beautiful in its time: also he hath set the world in their heart, so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end." This is the denial of all Promethean knowledge; it is also the assertion of the great article of faith, that all things become beautiful in their season, and that all are the handiwork of a Maker who is likewise a caretaker.

The Danger of a Weak Hellenism

IS it not evident, in all that I have shown, that the characteristic color in all of these ideas—fundamental to Greek, fundamental to Hebrew, fundamental to Americans of today—is given to their Hebraic form by that very concern for what is significant in history, for what is dramatic and moving in human life, which has seemed to us the core of the Hebrew genius? And is it not evident again that these conceptions, of Law and Justice and Wisdom and Providence, with which are interbound the whole group of conceptions which we call the hope of human progress, get their moving, their activistic as distinct from their contemplative values, from the Hebraic root? If so, assuredly I can point to no matter in which we of the United States are today more deeply indebted, to none in which our civic inheritance is more essentially seated, than to this very activism of our political ideals, resting upon faith that the Providence of this world deals fairly with us, leads us even in the darkness of our own knowledge, and holds us to the conviction that Law and Justice and Wisdom are to be passionately sought and maintained, even at the peril of our souls.

Further, I have this to say. In the United States today and in all Western civilization, there is a terrible tendency of the educated classes to lapse into a weak Hellenism, a *laissez-faire* in the moral and political life, evading responsibility, abjuring faith in any essential righteousness. Materialism, cynicism, a vague and sentimental aestheticism, socialism without heart, rationalism unwarmed, these are the commoner forms of the disease. For disease it is, and should it eat to the center of our national life, it would surely destroy all therein that makes us worth preserving. As yet, I believe, the great body of our citizens live in the wisdom of the Jews, not of the Greeks; and that they do this with a true instinct for life is hugely lessoned by history itself; for the Hellenes of old are long passed from this earth, while the Jews still live, an example unto all men of the vital power of ideals to preserve a people. Nor from the America of today nor the America of the future can we afford, for an instant, to relinquish that gift of faith which we owe to them—and which to us as to them is a source of confidence and of life.

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IV

The Vision of the Messianic Era

THERE is yet a final gift of Hebrew culture of which I would speak. One of the series of the Sargent paintings in the Boston Public Library, to which I have already alluded, is entitled "The Messianic Era." In artistic spirit, as in theme, it is utterly different from the grandiose lunette which depicts the afflictors of Israel: in place of a troubled and barbaric pomp, it portrays the serenity of hope, and the whole composition is toned by an atmosphere of grace and charm and of humane delicacy. On either side the doors of the future are being drawn by obedient wardens, while between them, festooned by the golden wealth of the vine, enters the Messiah, exalted, leading his people into the New Eden. The wonderful blue of the background, the rich golds of the vine, give a color that is splendid without ostentation, altogether befitting the buoyant beauty of the high conception.

This picture, to my eye, is the appropriate complement of the other, not only in artistic spirit, but in the range and reach of its suggestion. For history, which recounts the past, is never truly composed unless it also lives on into the future; and a race gifted with a sense of the significance of the past must be thereby a race gifted with hope of the eras that are to come. I have said that history is a dramatic thing; and this is so not merely because our historical imaginations inveterately dramatize, but because—as the story of Israel itself attests—the facts of human life and of all life are by nature dramatic; nay, if I may play upon the sentence which Plutarch ascribes to Plato, because God always dramatizes! It is not geometry, it is epic and tragic sublimity that at the last give us the image of divine thought. This Israel saw, and in conception it completed the vast drama which begins with Eden and the Fall and moves episodically through the great historical agonies, by a final vision, a theophany clear and luminous in the engloried morning of the Messianic Era.

The Physical and the Spiritual Restoration

ALL peoples have their idealisms, and many men have found their spiritual inheritance in a lost Paradise or a Utopian commonwealth; yet of them all, has another matched Zion? The vision of an Anointed King returning to the Holy Mount, of a renewed and purified Temple, of an untroubled possession of a Land of Promise, and of an empire imposed not by the sword but by the spirit of the Law, such a vision is surely no mere flush of the fantasy; rather it springs from the very fountains of desire, where human desire is purest, and from instincts which are more in the nature of graces and intuitions than of helpless dream.

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It is through such vision that we declare our shortcomings and set our measures, and it is in emulation of such vision that we uprear the pillars of our nobler humanity. Man, even in the moment of his apocalypse, stands with feet to earth, but his eyes are on the stars.

Zionism, as the Messianic Hope, as an everlasting inspiration, seems to me most beautiful, the true splendor of the crown of Judah. Of its other, more practical, phase, as a resettlement of the ancient domain, I do not conceive myself qualified to speak more than tentatively. I can see that for Jews in lands where Jews still eat their bread in bitterness a new Palestinian Zion may come as a bright redemption; and I can understand that this reason alone might fully justify the material effort. But for the spiritual gift, and the true greatness of Judaism, I do not conceive that the physical restoration can be helpful. Long since Judaism has outpassed the confines of a narrow geography, as long since, even in the days of the later prophets, it had outpassed the narrower confines of race. It has become a force of the human spirit, and therein it has entered into the realm of things intemporal. Here in America we desperately need the fervor of the idealism of every race and group that takes up our citizenship; and as an American I could not but feel dimly envious of any other of earth's lands which should draw hence the spiritual allegiance of my fellow citizens; but of that Zion which should be open to all men and should be the illumination of all states, no man need be envious. Plato was wiser than his own Hellenism when he made Socrates say of the ideal city: "In heaven there is laid up a pattern of it, methinks; which he who desires may behold, and beholding, may set his own house in order; but whether such a one exists, or ever will exist in fact, is no matter; for he will live after the manner of that city, having nothing to do with any other." In the end the greatness of all human vision, like the completed significance of history, is to be sought and found "under the form of eternity."

Spinoza and Milton: Spiritual Sons of Israel

I HAVE here used the famous phrase of a Jew who, disowned in his own day, is proudly recognized today both for beauty of character and power of intelligence by both Jew and Christian. Spinoza, simply human in his life as citizen, was in soul nobly detached from the morass of false conceit into which engrossed men pitifully fall. He beheld life with a great, white sanity; and loving freedom with the passion of one who could perceive the full degradation of enslavement, he pointed the way to it, through the quiet of the intelligence, into the realm of ideas, under the form of eternity. Like a Messiah he opened the gates to the ample serenity of the morning, and he made himself king in a transcendent

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kingdom. Spinoza was no Jew in the olden tradition; he was no Christian; but he was a noble and a great citizen of the modern world, bearing thereto a treasure which it was his to discover because he had been a Jew and shared in the inheritance of Israel. And therein he figured what the Jew might mean, as a man of his kind among mankind.

I would make one last comparison, and beside Spinoza I would set the figure of that great Englishman, his contemporary, who was also a lover of freedom, and who, after a high participation in the activities of the state, spent his greatest years in austere seclusion. John Milton was splendid as an English citizen; he was more splendid as an English poet, and as a poet he was more than of his nation. There is no other writer of Christendom whose imagination is so shot through with the sublimities of the Hebrew Scriptures as is Milton's, and none other who may so truly be described as a spiritual son of Israel. Not only in *Paradise Lost*, with its vastly cosmic drama, but also in the gravely noble *Samson Agonistes*, Milton moves in thought with the Hebrew poets and prophets, and as one of their number. Like Spinoza he sought spiritual freedom; like Spinoza he beheld it under the form of eternity; but the manner of his expression is more apocalyptic, more Jewish than is Spinoza's,—as if, in a division of inheritance, these two men of genius, Jew and Christian, had each come to mastery of the other's speech.

Is it not through such spiritual transmissions that we men shall come at last into the reality of our Messianic hope? Into that final Zion whose temple precincts shall be the habitable globe, its courts Earth's nations, and its choirs the antiphonies of languages not uttered as shibboleths but as the diapason of all fine ideals? Whether such an one will ever exist in fact is no matter, for he who hath beheld it will live after the manner of that city, having nothing to do with any other.

V

The Hebraic Endowment of America

IN what I have said I have endeavored to set forth what I regard as the greatest contribution of Hebrew genius to our common civilization. The Greeks laid the foundations of those sciences by which we can explain, in a sense, how such a world as ours is possible; but not Greek science, and no abstract science or philosophy, can explain why our world is just this world from among all that are possible. For such an explanation a differing philosophic mode, a teleological, a dramatic mode is alone capable; and such a mode is that in which Hebrew thought is couched; while from the Hebrew it has passed into the center and has set the horizons of Occidental culture. Here is an instance of a very great con-

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tribution passed from race to race; and it is also an instance of acculturation in the highest and most lasting sense. One must indeed seek far to discover in the whole world another so eminent instance of the eventual and universal value of the cultivation of a racial genius, or of the possibilities for the final enrichment of human life through the preservation of the several endowments of the families of men. We come as householders in a processional, each bearing the first fruits of his labors, and the beauty of the feast is in the variety of our offerings. This should be the final image of human harmony and the ideal of civilized attainment.

What, then, of our own American future? I have made my theme the Hebrew contribution to the Americanism that is to be; yet in my discourse I have spoken of the past, and much of the far past. Nevertheless, I trust that I have so spoken that my meaning is utterly clear. For I have sought to show that no worthy past is lost, and that no people emerging into consciousness of the higher things of life can ever lose this consciousness and still be true to itself and mankind; and I have sought to show more particularly that the children of Israel stand among the nations as the bearers of a light that is inextinguishable and as the servitors of a Zion that is eternal. In America, Asia and Europe meet and the whole world seeks the mode of its harmony. For that final music America needs the voices of all its peoples, and the idealisms of all; and where should it find its choir-leader if not from that voice which is not of Europe nor Asia nor any geographical center, but of a people dispersed among all? You will not, I am sure, turn from my reminder that Christianity itself was in origin of a Jewish sect, and I am sure that you will be proud to recognize in the Christian Gospels a Judaic literature which, even if written in Greek, added to the Hellenic world, and to the whole West, a nobility which no Hellene had conceived. And I trust also that you will be glad to own that even as the Judaism of the Gospels was not lost when they ceased to be merely Jewish, but rather became the vehicle for the well-nigh world-wide transmission of Judaic ideals, so in the future the Jews of America shall not be lost in finding themselves fully American, nor the Judaism of the world in giving to the whole world the height of its inspiration.

In this land of America we are of many peoples, all, save a few thousand Red Men, immigrants within three brief centuries. Together we shall make the future of the country, each bringing thereto the heritage with which his fathers have endowed him. My own sires have dwelt within these shores for more than two hundred years, and they were of a race which has performed a task of which every Anglo-Saxon has the right to be proud. They have opened the wilderness; they have cleft the forest; they have charted hill and plain and they have reared thereon great cities. They have been of a race great in action, and they have set to

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their sons stalwart patterns. Nor do I believe that the Anglo-Saxon in America is yet a race forespent, nor its deed yet done; shoulder-high we stand, with our fellow-citizens, and our eyes are to the future. As of such a race, and proud to be of such a race, in action great, I salute you, fellow countrymen, whose race has been among men exalted in the greatness of its conception of action: the words of your fathers have been the thoughts of mine; the deeds of their sons' sons shall be joined to the deeds of the sons of mine.

Hartley B. Alexander

THE MENORAH JOURNAL IS PARTICULARLY GRATIFIED TO ANNOUNCE THAT IT WILL PRESENT IN AN EARLY ISSUE AN ARTICLE WRITTEN EXCLUSIVELY FOR THE MENORAH JOURNAL BY THE EMINENT CRITIC AND PUBLICIST, GEORG BRANDES, ON "THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE JEW IN EUROPEAN POLITICS."

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The Rights of Minorities

By Gilbert Cannan

IT is unfortunate for the political thinking of these times that the pressure of panic and unrest should have intensified the age-old vice of thinking round taboos rather than round principles. So far indeed has this been driven that every attempt to raise a principle has been promptly met by the application of a taboo.

President Wilson's Fourteen Points furnishes an obvious instance. When they were first published the British mind applied the taboo to them, thought of them with derision rather than with sympathy, and removed them from the sphere of practical politics. They were classed with conscientious objectors, Pro-Germans, Hindu agitators, Sinn Feiners and other things to be judged by inflamed prejudice rather than by calm reason. Now when prejudice is inflamed beyond a certain point reason is no longer calm. It becomes cold and hard as it is backed by a certain indignant passion, and the colder and harder it grows the more terrifying it becomes to minds possessed by inflamed prejudice, as the minds of the majority always are in a crisis.

GILBERT CANNAN, whose trenchant pen has brought him to the forefront of the younger generation of British authors, prepared the accompanying article for THE MENORAH JOURNAL *during his recent visit to this country. He was born in England in 1884, and educated at Manchester and Cambridge. In addition to his novels and plays, he is the translator of Rolland's "Jean Christophe," and the author of several volumes of political and social criticism.*

The Bullying of Principle by Prejudice

FROM this cause arises, as well as from the logic of circumstances, that in a crisis the minds of the reasonable minority—and they will always be in a minority—turn to the causes of the oppressed, for they find in them concrete and immemorial instances of their own case. During the Great War the philosopher found himself in the same boat with the Jew, the negro, the American, the Quaker—all human beings who stood for a principle, religious, social, moral, racial, or intellectual. No matter the cause of the principle or the quality of it, the fact stood out that any one who through no fault of his own found himself representing a principle was isolated and derided. There was no time to examine the

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quality of his principle: all principles were lumped together as undesirable when the majority swarmed like bees round their queen—about a prejudice.

This meant that in every community all the safeguards of thought and custom were swept away and resort was had to the safeguards of military force, which in course of time broke down through the exhaustion of those who slaved to maintain them. With the arrival of exhaustion, which is commonly termed peace, the majorities turned to find themselves confronted with the principles which had been upheld by the minorities everywhere. The negro was still the negro, the Jew was still the Jew, the Quaker and the pacifist were annoyingly in the position to say: "I told you so." To spite them, resort was had once again to taboo, and in Paris experts and wiseacres set to work to prove, on paper, that the victors had gained something out of the war. The inhabitants of those countries which were parcelled out as trophies were to consider themselves fortunate in being able to share in the victory. So new Alsace-Lorraines were made all over the world, simply to prove to the exasperating minorities everywhere the impotence of principles against prejudice. It is the old story of the man of the world riding rough-shod over the theories of the philosopher, preferring what he thinks is actual to the reality which the other has discovered.

The Ironic Finger of the Minority

IT is all very well to trample on the principles of a philosopher. He is used to it. But there are principles which are represented by human beings, actual flesh and blood, and these principles are not so easily evaded by the man of the world. For they are actual even in his sense of the word, and by trampling upon abstract principles he is led inexorably to crush human flesh and blood into the mire, than which nothing is further from his desire. When he is faced with it he will go through with it, or rather his armies will do that for him, because he has nothing to which to turn. Having mocked at principle he has nothing but prejudice to carry him through his quandary and can only flounder from one to another, until in the end some vague attempt is made to assert some kind of principle and to restore at any rate the appearance of order in the world's affairs.

The truth is that human beings are terrible in their desires and passions, that their wills are intermittent and can only be made coherent and given however fitful a logic by the application of principle. It is this truth that minorities are always impressing upon majorities either by the maintenance of a tradition or, as with the oppressed races of the world, by their mere existence.

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Men desire to make life easy. Up to a certain point coagulation into a nation serves that end, but even the making of a nation is not an end in itself. The Jews were a nation at one time, but with their native sense of realism they discovered that it was more important and more valuable to be a race *tout simple*, without trappings. The Jews, though they appreciate comfort more than any other species of men, do not expect to find life easy. In that they are a perpetual reproach to the indolence of nationalized mankind (and not only in that) so that there is this much to be said for the prejudice against the Jew, that he is in fact a nuisance. He is that, not only by his qualities, but by his being the archetype of the minority, that bugbear of mankind, that living conscience which makes cowards of us all and is continually pointing an ironic finger to indicate that we are making a mess of things in good times as in bad. That is the function of the minority, and until that function is admitted to be honorable by the majority the affairs of the world will continue to march in a vicious circle.

The majority in every crisis always has a comfortable sense that its momentum can carry the minority with it, but that comfortable sense is an illusion of the crisis. The Jew remains the Jew, the negro the negro, and the conscientious objector, if alive, is still in possession of his conscience when the crisis is past.

The Majority More Dangerous than the Minority

IT is objected to the recognition of the functions and the rights of the minority, that the minority is dangerous in a crisis. The minority is not one thousandth part as dangerous as the majority, and it has to be remembered that the majority in a community is not the community. Indeed if, as I think we must, we count the dead and the unborn as part of the community, it is probable that the majority is in fact a minority, though it happens for the moment to be having things its own way. If the majority could only see itself in that light, there might be the beginnings of sympathy with the minority,—but that of course is a Utopian speculation. For the purposes of political thinking, however, it has to be seen how the rights of the racially segregated minorities are bound up with the rights of those who are intellectually segregated or set apart by obstinate but inevitable adherence to principle. Grant the right of the conscientious objector to his conscience and to the protection of his conscience by the community, then to the Jew must be granted his Judaism. The principle is asserted that the community exists for the protection of what a man is as well as for the defense of what he has: more than that, it is brought home to the community that what a man is is of more value to it than what he has.

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The Community Must Preserve Liberty by Law

IN the recognition of this fact is surely the beginning of political wisdom. You cannot ask more of a Jew than that he should be a good and thorough Jew. Theodore Roosevelt was on the whole a very good and very thorough Theodore Roosevelt, but a good and thorough Jew is nothing on earth like Theodore Roosevelt. Why then hit him over the head for not being what God never intended him to be? Why ask the saint to be a sinner or the sinner a saint? Why ask the elephant to be a wasp or the wasp an elephant; or the men of peace to be men of war? I never knew a philosopher who expected a soldier to have a theory of the absolute, nor do those who love philosophy expect all men to be philosophers. Yet the majority who love soldiers expect all men to defend the community under arms, although that is the last of a community's defenses. The first is the mind, the second is the will of its citizens,—and there are men whose only weapons are mind and will. They will always be in a minority and they will always be unpopular because of their insistence upon the need of defending the community against itself and against the easily swung prejudices of the majority.

They will insist, for instance, that it is wrong for the community to oppress those who are racially in a minority. They will insist again that the community needs every ounce of variety and the color of character that can be given to it by its individual members. They will insist, moreover, that this can only be procured by the recognition of Liberty not as a thing to be granted but to be maintained by Law. For Liberty is attainable not by communities but by individuals who have formed themselves into a community to make that attainment, and its maintenance when won, easier. There is no other reason, no other justification for the existence of a community, because men could scratch the little living they need from the earth without it; and certainly if they lose Liberty and the right to win it for themselves through joining a community they would be happier outside it.

The Grim Penalty of Minority Oppression

DIRECTLY, then, that a community loses sight of Liberty, as it does when it denies the rights of minorities, it becomes a nuisance to mankind. Russia, which under the Czar denied the rights of the Jews, was a festering source of misery to humanity. Whenever minorities are oppressed the same misery arises and spreads, flowing from one community to another until the whole of mankind is infested with it. No community, no nation, exists by itself and for its own sake, and so long as any community oppresses its minorities of all kinds it must appear to commit

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that absurdity: it must set its prejudice in favor of its own traditions and habits above principle, and lose sight of its cardinal functions, the preservation of Liberty by Law. It must deprive itself of its natural sustenance; worse than that, it must, in a confined space, breathe its own air over and over again until the poison of it breeds hysteria and madness.

Benjamin Franklin said that men learn only from experience and very little even from that. After the great war the tiresome minorities are once more at their task of pointing the lesson of experience, which is simply that the communities of Europe were driven into hysteria and madness and an orgy of self-defense because they had refused to accept as the first principle of good government the right of minorities to exist on terms of honorable and equal citizenship with their majorities. It is small wonder that revolutionary Russia points scornfully to the failure of political democracy, but there is not much sign that the Russian revolutionaries have put their finger on the reason of that failure. They have been too much concerned with delivering the majority who have only their labor from the minority who have money and investments either by thrift or inheritance. Failure to respect that minority has incensed the rest of the world against revolutionary Russia.

But the rest of the world is not in a position to protest because nowhere in the world is any other minority honored. If the consequences were not so grim the situation would be adorably comic; but the consequences are such as slowly but inexorably to force the human mind everywhere to admit that minorities must be respected not for what they have but for what they are. When that principle is accepted, then and not till then, can we begin the real work of the reconstruction of Society in which majorities and minorities can join with good will.

Gilbert Cannan

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The Blending of Immigrant Cultures

By Julius Drachsler

THE aim in the solution of the immigrant problem must be to make possible the maximum contribution on the part of the immigrant both economically and culturally—and to secure for him, in return, the maximum economic and cultural participation in the national life.

In a comprehensive program of public policy these two aspects, the economic and the cultural, are inseparable, for, from a synthetic point of view, the immigrants—as individuals and as groups—cannot reasonably be expected to make cultural contributions if the economic basis of their life is insecure or inadequate. Where there is no economic competence there is no leisure, and where there is no leisure there is no culture. This fundamental connection must be the guiding thought in the formulation of all the subsidiary policies for dealing with the immigrant, as well as in the general policy. These subsidiary policies are: the policy of *regulation*, the policy of *distribution*, and the policy of *incorporation*. Each of these three in turn has its economic and cultural or educational aspect. In other words, there are, in reality, six specific programs that must be framed if a fully rounded policy on immigration is to be formulated.

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How far short of this inclusive program the present thought and practice have fallen will appear upon comparison of what has been done with what could be done. All three policies have thus far been fragmentary and, in the main, negative. Whatever there has been of *regulation* was concerned mainly with the exclusion of the physically and mentally defective and the economically dependent. Methods of *distribution* have remained undeveloped. Americanization is confined to the barren process of teaching the rudiments of English and of civics. It is nothing short of a miracle that any *incorporation* of the immigrants into American life

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has been accomplished at all, and with the minimum amount of conscious direction.*

Vital Questions that Our Lawmakers Ignore

IT is strange that our immigration legislation has persistently evaded the underlying problems in these three policies and continues to busy itself with non-essential details. It is as if the framers of the law from one generation to another had been afraid to face boldly the real issues involved and to think fearlessly of far-reaching remedies. What, for example, should be the basic principles of selection and regulation? How can the influx of labor forces be so regulated as to satisfy the true demands rather than the artificial demands for labor? Is Europe the only source of foreign labor and must it remain so to the exclusion of all other continents? And if so, on what grounds? Would preferential treatment of family immigration, as opposed to immigration of single men and women, tend to select a steadier and more assimilable mass of settlers?

And on the score of distribution similar fundamental questions are pressing, only to be systematically ignored by legislators. What constitutes desirable distribution? Is it more practicable, in the long run, to settle immigrants in groups or as individuals, no matter what the preconceived notions on this question may be? Where are the various types of immigrants most needed, industrially speaking? What are the most efficient ways of keeping the immigrant labor supply mobile and yet not too transient? How can occupational misplacement be minimized and thus great losses prevented both economically and spiritually?† And no less

* A significant experiment in the distribution of immigrants by a private philanthropic agency has been that of the Industrial Removal Office, in New York City. The general method of procedure has been to receive applications for removal at the central office in New York, to make a careful physical examination of the applicant, to secure, if possible, evidence of good moral character and fair competence in some trade, to select, from carefully compiled data on industrial opportunities throughout the United States, a community where the applicant and his family, if he had any, could make a living, to make arrangements for his reception in that community and then to keep in touch with him through the local agencies and the traveling agents of the central office. A careful survey of the work of the Industrial Removal Office shows that from 1901 to 1912, 59,729 people were sent away from New York City. The number of cities and towns to which persons were sent was 1,474, situated in every state of the Union. Besides this, the two branches in Boston and Philadelphia, during an existence of nine years, distributed 5,817 persons, making a grand total for the three branches of 64,546. Since the War the work has been practically at a standstill.

† Of about eight hundred Armenians studied in a recent immigrant survey, almost eighty per cent had changed their occupation. "The farmers all changed, many becoming factory workers, porters, and day laborers, others taking to the grocery and restaurant business, still others struggling along as weavers, cooks, waiters and laundry workers. Some of the most striking changes took place in the ranks of the skilled mechanics and the professional men. Blacksmiths abandoned hammer and tongs for the grocer's scales or the tailor's shears; brass workers turned stock clerks or day laborers; carpenters wasted their skill as team drivers or window cleaners; copper-

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fundamental, after proper regulation and proper distribution have been accomplished, are the questions relating to a sound policy of incorporating. What is involved in genuine Americanization? What part in this process can and should the immigrant community play and what part should the State play? How must the elementary methods of Americanization be improved and supplemented in order to achieve substantial results rather than the illusion of assimilation?

To what extent is an increase in the margin of leisure likely to release the creative powers of the various immigrant groups? In what specific ways can the past cultural achievements of these peoples be utilized for the enrichment of American life? It will be said that it is far easier to put these questions than to find their solutions. At the present stage of thought upon the problem, however, it is a clear gain even to formulate the appropriate questions, for, as yet, this essential first step has hardly been taken.

The Clash of Old and New Cultures in America

THE cultural problem has been neglected even more than the economic question; one is tempted to say, ignored almost entirely, except by a solitary educator here and there. This cultural problem has a negative and a positive phase. The first consists in this: large masses of children of school age, foreign-born and native-born of foreign parentage, are saturated in the public schools with a culture foreign to that of the home from which they come. They learn of a history, a literature, a scheme of political life that are in many cases radically different from the cultural background of their elders. In the home there is, therefore, little or no understanding between the growing child and the static parent. The delicate task is to reëstablish or to reënforce a sympathy that is constantly on the wane, a process which, if not counteracted in time, is prone to result in a permanent and often a tragic estrangement. It is not inappropriate to speak of this phase of the problem as negative, because the aim in its solution is merely to *impart* to both parent and child a more sympathetic attitude towards each other, primarily through a completer knowledge and appreciation of the culture-values prized by either side.

The other phase of the problem, the positive, is concerned mainly with the effort to stimulate the creative powers of all the members of the immigrant groups. The communities formed by representatives of the

smiths sank to the level of the versatile 'generally useful'; jewelers donned the waiter's coat; weavers and knife-makers tortured their nimble fingers with crude factory work; teachers graced the clerk's high stool; and ministers bewailed their lot as 'helpers' in the back kitchen of an earthy lunch-room. Marvelous indeed is the transforming power of the Great Alchemist, 'free America.'"

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various European peoples in the United States are, of course, only fragments of the old-world communities. Nevertheless they have brought with them a knowledge and an appreciation of some of the cultural contributions made by the parent groups upon the native soil. This knowledge and appreciation varies according to the proportion of intellectuals in the immigrant group and according to the cultural level from which the majority of the immigrants have come. For the immigrants to invent ways of contributing effectively some of their inherited culture-values to American life, and to add to this tradition new values for the creation of which the inspiration is drawn from life in the new environment—requires the free unfolding of all the creative forces within the immigrant group.

Teaching the Young to Respect Their Cultural Heritage

WHATEVER attempts towards the solution of the cultural problem have thus far been made have concerned themselves mainly with the negative phase. In immigrant groups where self-consciousness has reached a high degree of intensity (as for example among the Poles, the Jews, the Bohemians), educational activities calculated to transmit to the younger generation the cultural heritage of the group have been rather vigorously pursued. Nationalist schools, supplementing the work of the public educational system, social and recreational centers stressing the cultural group-consciousness, community houses gathering within their walls persons of all classes, shades of belief and of disbelief, are frequently found flourishing in these immigrant communities.* But throughout all this work there is much that reminds one of frantic efforts to save the group from disintegration in a new environment, rather than a free blossoming of a healthy cultural life taking root in a new and rich soil.

Nor has educational thought and practice in America fully recognized the significance of this conflict and provided the proper means of making the transition from one cultural background to another, smoother and thus fuller in mental enrichment. In its great work of molding the children of the foreign-born to the predominant cultural type, the public school has ignored an urgent duty and lost sight of a unique opportunity. Reflecting upon the need for a broader vision of American nationalism, our leading philosopher of education says: "The point is to see to it

* A detailed survey of the educational activities of the Jewish community is "Jewish Education in New York City," by Dr. A. M. Dushkin. Prof. Herbert A. Miller in "The School and the Immigrant," one of the reports of the Cleveland Educational Survey of 1916, gives a brief account of the efforts of various national groups in Cleveland to preserve their language and culture through privately owned schools, including parochial schools. The following nationalities are included: Bohemians, Croatians, Danes, Germans, Greeks, Jews, Hungarians, Italians, Lithuanians, Norwegians and Swedes, Poles, Russians and Ruthenians, Serbians, Slovaks, Slovenians, Syrians.

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that the hyphen connects instead of separates. And this means at least that our public schools shall teach each factor to respect every other, and shall take pains to enlighten all as to the great past contributions of every strain in our composite make-up. I wish our teaching of American history in the schools would take more account of the great waves of migration by which our land for over three centuries has been continuously built up, and make every pupil conscious of the rich breadth of our national make-up. When every pupil recognizes all the factors which have entered into our being he will continue to prize and reverence that coming from his own past, but he will think of it as honored in being simply one factor in forming a whole, nobler and finer than itself."*

Preservation and Adjustment on a New Soil

THE implications of the positive phase of the problem have thus far been grasped even less clearly than those of the negative phase. For most American educators this aspect is practically non-existent. Public education shows no trace of any influence in the direction of incorporating cultural heritages other than those of the predominant civilization. There are indications, however, that the concept of the creative rôle of the immigrant groups is slowly crystallizing in the minds of some leaders of American thought. Among the sponsors of the community center movement, particularly as it struggles for expression in the large American cities, there are those who see in the various self-conscious immigrant culture-groups potential instruments for the enrichment of the drab, industrialized city life of twentieth-century America.

To a somewhat greater degree, in groups in which social experience harks back to earlier similar attempts at adjustment, conscious efforts are made to formulate the rationale of cultural autonomy in a non-traditional social environment. "The Jews, as a highly self-conscious community, with a long tradition of adjustment behind them, are in a position to try experiments aiming toward the solution of this problem [of Americanization]. The method of solution which they propose is that of community organization. They would bring all the citizens of the American Commonwealth together in most of life's relationships. But they would also permit the members of any other national or religious community to develop district organizations and institutions to deal with matters of peculiar interest to themselves, except in so far as such activity would curtail the right of other American citizens. The clearest example of the community method of adjustment is found in the week-day Jewish schools, which requires Jewish children to mingle with non-Jewish American boys

* John Dewey, "Nationalizing Education," Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, N. Y., 1916, Vol. LIV, p. 185

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and girls in the public schools, and yet gathers them together for specifically Jewish instruction during the time when they are free from their public school duties. The Jews of this country are opposed to the parochial idea in education. Of the sixty-five thousand children who receive Jewish training in New York City, for example, less than one thousand are taught in Jewish parochial schools. . . . The Jewish educational solution would appear to be that any national or religious group which is highly conscious of its culture and civilization, and desires to perpetuate it in this country, shall have the opportunity of doing so by means of instruction *supplementary* to the public school system."*

How Shall the Composite Culture Be Molded?

THE cultural problem, then, as conceived here in its entirety, has not yet become sharply outlined in the national consciousness. Much less has it been brought under deliberate social control. That this is not only possible but necessary is still less apparent to the minds of most students of the problem. Thinking upon the nature and the possibilities of control of social life is at present in very much the same stage in which human thought upon natural phenomena was in the pre-scientific era. Control of the forces of nature was out of the question, since no control is possible where a sense of mystery and of helplessness rules instead of knowledge. To social phenomena there still clings much of this quality of the awe-inspiring. To tamper with social institutions, to interfere with the "natural" unfolding of group activity by artificial control, is still regarded as fraught with hidden dangers; as indeed it is, if the control proceeds on the basis of a false insight into the mechanism of group life. Viewed in this light, the attempt at conscious direction or at the molding of a culture of a civilization is not only a contradiction in basic concepts but a hopeless if not a perilous adventure.

And yet, more and more is the imagination of students of American life coming to busy itself with the idea of conscious creation of a new and rich civilization that shall combine within itself the culture-values of the various ethnic stocks represented in the American people. The most obvious way that suggests itself is to "select" or "extract" or "distil" the valuable elements from each cultural heritage and combine these into the new "American product." But what would on first consideration commend this method, namely, its simplicity and directness, is the very feature which, upon careful thought, suggests serious doubt as to its efficacy.

To suppose, for example, that a new American music can be created by selecting the characteristic qualities of Italian, German, Hungarian

* A. M. Dushkin, *Jewish Education in New York City*, page 382.

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and Russian music and mechanically combining them; or to imagine that a new American art, or literature or religion or polity, can be consciously fabricated by extracting the so-called valuable elements from the corresponding culture-products of the immigrant peoples, and then deftly fitting them together to make an original "American" mosaic, is not much different from the attempt of the chemist in his laboratory to produce living tissue through clever manipulation of the known chemical constituents of protoplasm. He may succeed in uniting the elements into a synthetic compound, but he cannot infuse it with that spark of life which is the essence of a truly organic unit. And so with a culture. To proceed on the basis of a *mechanical* view of its growth is to ignore its most characteristic feature. For, on the personal side, the creation of a culture-value, as a lyric or a drama, a painting or a piece of sculpture, a symphony or a profound religious idea, involves the original apperception on the part of the genius or of the talented individual of certain relevant traditional culture-materials that he finds imbedded in the social heredity of his group. Spontaneity and uniqueness of reaction are thus among the most striking earmarks of the creative mind.

The Creation of a Rich Cultural Milieu

IF, then, the experiment is to be ventured of consciously creating a composite culture in America, it can be approached only indirectly. By deliberately furthering an interest in the cultural achievements of the immigrant groups and by systematically bringing before the minds of their descendants these variegated culture-materials, a rich cultural environment or atmosphere might be created in which they would constantly move and find their spiritual expression. Among them would naturally be included the latent geniuses and talented persons who presumably would react in their unique and spontaneous fashion to this varied cultural panorama. Only as a result of these original apperceptions can a truly characteristic and organic composite culture be achieved. Exactly what form it will ultimately assume no one can foretell. Its very essence is spontaneity. All that can be done is to create the conditions under which the gifted individual will give free and unhampered expression to his native talent.

But how is this necessary cultural milieu to be constructed? And who is to foster the interest in its sustained growth? To call upon the immigrant groups alone to do this through the medium of their cultural community organizations is to court failure for two reasons: Not all of the groups have developed a vigorous enough cultural community life; some may even be dying fast, and yet among their inherited culture-

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values there may be some that America can ill afford to lose through the sheer lack of vitality of the heirs. On the other hand, there is the danger of overemphasis of distinctive group characteristics, if the groups alone are left to conserve for American life their unique contributions.

Still less desirable is it to let the State alone, through the agency of government, assume this responsibility. It is quite conceivable that under the pressure of nationalistic pride and self-interest the various groups might come to manipulate the governmental agencies for their own ends rather than for the welfare of all culture groups involved. To assure any measure of success, the various immigrant groups and the State must supplement each other's functions. These functions in turn must be clearly delimited. Broadly stated, the function of the cultural groups would be to foster their cultural uniqueness through their community organization, while the function of the State would embrace the harmonization of these cultural differences, the unification of distinctive contributions into a rich and variegated whole.

The Most Potent Medium of All

THERE is no fitter medium through which this delicate yet supremely important task of harmonization can be accomplished than the public educational system. To be sure, this involves a far-reaching change in the conception of some of the functions of American public education, particularly of the public school. The traditional method of the public school has been the leveling of all cultural differences among its pupils and the sending forth of a uniform product with the unmistakable stamp of the dominant civilization. This is to be replaced by the conscious effort to marshal all the cultural contributions of the races and nations represented in the student-body, to bring these before the growing minds in a form easily grasped (the medium of instruction being, of course, the English language), and thus to build up the attitude of intelligent and sympathetic insight into the life of diverse peoples. The obstacles to effective presentation would decrease rather than increase with the rise in school grade, and with the introduction of these studies into the cultural curriculum of the higher schools.

Comparative history and politics, comparative art, comparative music, comparative literature, comparative religion, offer undreamed-of possibilities for the instruction of the youth. Lack of suitable texts, difficulties of technique, of teaching, dearth of properly equipped instructors, are obstacles that would speedily vanish before an aroused will of educators to conjure up, so to speak, before the imagination of the growing generations, the cultural treasures of the human race and to sur-

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round them with a rich, stimulating cultural environment. Under such educational conditions it is more than likely that latent genius and talent will more readily seek and find expression, evolving of their own accord unique culture-values of universal and lasting worth.

Julius Drachsler

EDITORS' NOTE.—A supplementary chapter by Dr. Drachsler, entitled "Democracy and Race Fusion," will be published in the next number.

THE MENORAH JOURNAL *takes pleasure in announcing that in an early issue it will have the privilege of publishing the Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture for this year, which was given by Dr. Israel Abrahams, the distinguished Jewish scholar and littérateur of Cambridge (England), under the Chairmanship of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. Dr. Abrahams—Israel Zangwill writes us —"delivered a most brilliant lecture on 'Religion and Poetry'."*

Readers of THE MENORAH JOURNAL *will recall the two notable lectures already delivered on the Arthur Davis Fund, which were published in previous numbers: the first, by Mr. Zangwill, on "Chosen Peoples," and the second by R. Travers Herford on "What the World Owes to the Pharisees."*

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Other-Worldly Conversations

By Ibn Meir

I

Josephus and John of Giscala

Josephus John, you were always a man of passion,—headstrong, shall I say? Observe me. Through all the tribulations of my life I sought mildness, balance, equanimity. If a fire blazed I did not seek to put my finger to it. There is no doctrine worth the heat of contention.

John Aye, Josephus. Your soul still stutters, like the true son of a son of a son that you are of Simon the Stammerer. A coward shall *I* say? Observe *me!* Through all the tribulations of *my* life I sought honor, and faith, and the joy of my people. The flames of their fire I hugged to my heart, though they slew me!

Josephus Honor and faith! Fine words to juggle with. But Rome was Rome with neither honor nor faith. And Rome was life to me. Better Rome and life without honor or faith than Jerusalem and the galleys. Am I not right, Galilean?

John I was a poor man, Josephus, no soldier, broken and frail in body. But for my people's sake I gathered fortitude from the winds of affliction and built a rampart about my heart with the stones of adversity. Not Rome at first. But when the Gadarenes, Baraganeans, and Tyrians came and leveled Giscala to the ground, with fire and sword,—before the ashes were cold I had rebuilt my city with beauty and strength.

Josephus And yet the rumor of Rome once froze your zeal. Did you not urge your citizens to ally themselves with Rome?

John Once only, in a moment of weakness. But you, Josephus, all your life have been frozen at the thought of Rome. What were you? Pharisee, Sadducee, Essene, all in turn, but still a Jew. What are you now? A Roman citizen. A favorite at the court of Vespasian. "Flavius"! A pretty name, a royal name. An emperor's pet, but made with the blood of thousands upon thousands of our people, the ruin of Jerusalem, and the desecration and destruction of our Temple. Surely, a rank to be proud of, an achievement that will bring honor to you on the day of judgment!

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Josephus I am not seeking tender opinions from you, John of Giscala. The way of the world is my way. In the midst of strife, discretion advises me to cast my lot with the stronger. And who is stronger than Rome? I who belong with the victor can perhaps afford to nourish a secret regret for the fate of such a man as yourself, who fought the battles of fanaticism and lost. But all our lives we have been opposed to one another, matching duplicity with duplicity, contempt with contempt, hate with hate, death with death. Now you are a prisoner of Rome, soon to be dragged out to march in the triumph of the illustrious Titus, and I a Jew shall sit in the seats of the mighty and see you pass by. What have I to regret? The power that is Rome is omnipotent. The fire of rebellion that flared in your hills has wrapped you round in its own destruction. And if Jerusalem is only a memory, and the Temple already a legend, the fault lies not with me but with you and those of your allies who courted ruin for Jerusalem by stirring up the wrath of the emperor and the invincible legions of Rome. With your frenzy, your stubbornness, your short-sightedness, your fool's patriotism, you lit the fire of your own burning. But I was never misled. In my eyes Judea was Judea, tiny, factious, helpless, while Rome was—Rome. In my eyes all your patriotism was a snare and a delusion, a blindness against the great fact—Rome.

Some day, by the grace of God and the emperor, I shall sit down in my library overlooking the Tiber and commence a task rather congenial to my heart, a history of the Judean rebellion. Nor shall I forget you in its pages, John of Giscala. I am convinced that the world is Rome's, that out of Rome comes salvation, and whoever does not seek his salvation where it lies is a foolish man. Humility is the proper part of humble people, and of humble nations. If a lion is abroad and ravaging among the nations, why should we throw ourselves in his way? Through God's providence Rome has been set up in limitless glory and might. Is it not better to make peace with Rome and so with God? I have made my peace with both. But you, Galilean, have dared to defy both—Rome's power and God's providence.

John The vanity of man exceeds his understanding. The treason of man surpasses the winter's wind in sharpness. You were born a Jew, lived a traitor, and by the grace of God and your emperor will die a noble Roman. I was born a Jew, lived a Jew,

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and by the grace of God will soon die a Jew. What more can I say, Josephus? Rome? It is a gold calf you are worshipping, with feet of clay. Rome the invincible, the omnipotent, the rod of nations, the lion, the ravager? Let me tell you, Josephus. Even now there is a flower of death blooming close to its heart, a canker of corruption, festering, spreading decay and imbecility. A little while and the rod shall be broken, the lion smitten, and Rome shall become a name without meaning. And long after your Rome, your emperors, and your legions are dust of the dust, Jerusalem shall be remembered and rebuilt, though it be out of a thousand slaughters and out of a thousand ruins. And out of Jerusalem shall again come God's word, the Law of righteousness, of justice, of love.

II

Mendel and Braine

After J. L. Peretz: "Mendel Braine's"

Mendel Well, Brainele, you always wanted to be my footstool in Gan Eden. Now you have your chance. It's a fine place! No golden footstools, not even a plain wooden chair. Do you know, Brainele dear, I was so upset when you died!

Braine And why shouldn't you be? Wasn't I a good wife to you?

Mendel But it came with such a shock. I was so sure you would outlive me. I was sitting in the Bes ha-Medrish, studying a portion Mishnais, when all of a sudden I heard somebody crying. It sounded like Baske's voice, but then I thought: what would she be doing up here in the schul? Besides, a kala-maidal doesn't cry; it couldn't be Baske. Then I heard somebody running up the stairs, calling, "Father, father!" Baske's voice. I could hardly believe it. "Mother's fainted!" And by the time I got home, my poor Brainele was gone.

Braine Ah, yes, Mendele, and I can tell you just what you thought about it: "But why should she die,—with such a fine husband, and such fine children, and such a fine home?"

Mendel Well, Brainele, it was a very sad affair. Let's not talk about it. We're in heaven now. You know, I'm not a bit surprised. I always expected to go to heaven, and of course, there was no doubt about you. I suppose I ought to be more cheerful about being here, and you know, Brainele, I'd give my life any time to be with you, but what is a good Jew like myself,

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brought up in the old way, going to do here? No Bes ha-Medrish, no rav, no shamos, no tabac-puschke, no politics, no Englander. A fine bargain! But you can't say I'm a fool. I'm a pretty shrewd fellow, eh, Brainele? So it's no bargain at all.

Braine Well, Mendele, my precious one, you're smart about some things, and not so smart about others. When it comes to a perek Mishnais or Maftir, I don't say you're not as good as the best. But in worldly matters you're not so strong. I don't say you were not a good husband. God forbid! A better one couldn't be wished for any decent woman. But the trouble with you, Mendele leben, is that you take too much for granted. You were always that way. I understand it all now, and I suspected it at the time. How was it you had so much time for your Bes ha-Medrish and for your politics? Shall I tell you? Because while you lived way up in the air, Brainele lived close down to the earth. Brainele toiled day and night in the speisgewelb, baked and cooked, fed her Mendele and her little ones, clothed them, kept them in shoes, and kept her chochem Mendele every day from packing everything into the cart and starting off for England and Yerushalaim. And now that you landed in heaven instead, and we're together again after these years of separation, you have harote, you go about complaining. Of course it's no bargain for you!

Mendel Brainele, leben, I'm ashamed of myself. I see it all now. you're right. I went about in the world like a sleepy head. Because you made everything smooth and easy for me, I never dreamt that my life might have been otherwise. I understand. You took my burden upon your poor little shoulders. My hands should have toiled for you and the children, clothed you and fed you and sheltered you. My hands should have comforted you and kept you for a long old age. Instead I let you wear yourself out, never realizing it, until you suddenly dropped under the load, and left me alone. You looked so thin and pitiful. Poor Brainele, what a foolish husband I have been!

Braine Poor Mendele! You see I am sorry, not for myself, but for you.

Mendel I know, I know. It was all very fine. Maggidim—carrying the puschke—politics—Englander—and all the while—you——

Braine Poor Mendele! But you know, I was really very proud of you. I liked to see you a mensch among people. It was a

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great comfort for me. Besides, I knew you weren't quite suited for the practical things that had to be looked after. So why should I complain? Thank God, one of us, at least, was fit for them. And as for Yerushalaim——

Mendel Ah, yes, Brainele, I remember how you always kept putting it off. First one thing, then another. "One doesn't just pack up and go. One mustn't sell the speis-gewelb; it's a bird in the hand. Perhaps later, when all our children are happily married and independent. Later, when we shall live to see a grandchild or two, or better still, even a great-grandchild. Then we can leave them our gewelb, and—perhaps"—Ah, yes, Brainele,—perhaps. All my life I was looking forward to the day to visit England and die in Yerushalaim. Now it's neither the one nor the other. There was always something yet to be done, something coming along. Later—perhaps. Of course, England is a different matter, altogether. Everybody knows it's a wonderful country. And the people are such chachomim! And such harmaten they make! Only you don't believe it, Brainele. Of course, women usually don't know much about such things, and it's all the same to them even if the Englander are all chachomim or all schlemiels. But a man must know one way or the other. When it comes to the Englander, it is not a thing to joke about. And the more one knows about such a thing, the better it is. That's velt politik. As I say, I can get along without England. But how about Yerushalaim? But for you, Brainele, I would have traveled to the Holy Land long ago and died there as a frum man should. Many a time when we read *Eichoh* my heart used to grow heavy at the thought of the desolation of Zion, and I used to lose my appetite for three days at a stretch. Of course, I had to eat to keep alive just the same. And what pleasure is there in eating without an appetite? You know what happened, Brainele. I had a stomach-ache for six days. As you say, I oughtn't to complain. I landed in heaven. But even heaven isn't Yerushalaim, Braine leben. Of course, it has its good points. But after all, there's no Bes ha-Medrish in the whole place, and you know it very well. For a plain, old-fashioned Jew like myself, it isn't the best place in the world at all. Now Brainele, sweetheart, you know what I'm driving at. Our children, kinehora, are all happily married, and independent. We've turned over to them our little gewelb. We've lived to see our grand-

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children, and almost our great-grandchildren. We've lived and died and gone to heaven. Now there's one place left to go to.

Braine England?

Mendel Silly! You know what I mean.

Braine Then it's Yerushalaim. All right, Mendele, I'm willing.

Mendel Of course, we can pass through England on our way, can't we, Brainele?

EDITORS' NOTE.—The above are the first in a series of "Other-Worldly Conversations" which will be continued in subsequent issues. The author has drawn freely upon notable characters from the long gallery of worthies in Jewish history and works of the imagination, and has placed them in historical or imaginary settings, in this world or the next, to suit his purpose.

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Jews in the Field of Science

From Moissan to Einstein

By Benjamin Harrow

BENJAMIN HARROW was born in England in 1888, and divided his school and college days between London and Columbia (M.A., Ph.D.) He has devoted his studies and researches particularly to physiological chemistry, and has held teaching positions in this field at Clark University, Fordham Medical School, and Columbia University, where he is now Associate. He is the author of a recently published book "From Newton to Einstein," and two forthcoming volumes, "Vitamines," and "Eminent Chemists of Our Time."

UNLIKE music and literature, with which the average man is more or less familiar, the sciences are very much of a closed door to him. The rudiments of an education may be enough to introduce one to the beauties of Mendelssohn's music or Heine's poetry, but they are not enough for an understanding of Loeb's work on artificial parthenogenesis or Willstätter's experiments on chlorophyll. With no intention of underestimating the musician or the poet, we may perhaps venture the statement that Loeb and Willstätter are equally prominent in their selected fields; yet to describe their work to the layman is a task beset with many difficulties.

The "science" we have in mind may best be classified into five subdivisions: 1) Physics 2) Chemistry 3) Biology 4) Psychology 5) Sociology.

We might, if we wish to invade the realm of speculation, proceed from sociology to philosophy, then to logic, thence to mathematics, and finally back again to physics. But if we are to limit ourselves to the "exact" sciences, we cannot proceed beyond the five enumerated. And even here the propriety of including the fourth and fifth is questionable, for while we have a distinct physiological psychology which is experimental, much of present-day psychology is not; and as for sociology, its day for genuine scientific experimentation is far from having been reached.

In this article only the first three—physics, chemistry, and biology—and the science built upon them, experimental medicine, will be touched upon.

One word more. I am aware that the "Rambam" and many other Jewish worthies figure in the history of science. Here I freely confess

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to my ignorance when I state that I do not know of any solid contribution to the subject which these scholars of a past era have made. In any case, I shall confine myself to the modern period, starting eighteen centuries after Christ.

Moissan—the Discoverer of Fluorine

EMPEDOCLES, one of the early Greek philosophers, was responsible for the idea that earth, air, fire, and water constituted the four great fundamentals out of which all matter, simple and complex, was formed. Aristotle, in his eagerness to soar beyond mere matter, added a fifth element, *quinta essentia*, which supplied the groundwork for the formation of the starry heavens.

We of today have traveled very far beyond that stage. To us the fundamentals, the elements—substances which, thus far, have not been broken up into anything simpler—are some eighty in number, and none of the "elements" of the ancients are among them. Earth, air and water all contain more than one element, and fire is a form of energy. As for *quinta essentia*—that is altogether too much in the realm of pure metaphysical speculation to warrant discussion here.

The eighty-odd elements known to scientists today are the starting-point of every conceivable form of matter. They are the *bausteine*, the building-stones. Any addition to their number is an event of enormous importance and one of tremendous possibilities.

The "halogens" (salt-formers) are a group of elements usually classed together, because they show close chemical relationships. The commonest member of the group, chlorine, was extensively used in the various gas attacks on the western front, though one of its salts, sodium chloride, is none other than that indispensable article of food, common table salt. Fluorine, closely allied to chlorine, has long been known in the form of its various salts, but all attempts to isolate the element failed until 1886, when Henry Moissan (1852-1907), professor of chemistry at the Sorbonne, succeeded in solving the problem. The difficulties which beset other investigators, and which Moissan overcame, were due to the intense chemical activity of the element: it unites with anything it can lay its hands on, so to speak. The vessel which Moissan used for the purpose was made of a combination of platinum and iridium—which are among the most resistive of the elements. But this proved so costly that investigators throughout the world could not repeat the experiment very easily, and general skepticism was in evidence, until Moissan silenced the skeptics by sending his assistant, with the costly apparatus, to the various centers of learning, where the experiments were performed in the presence of the learned professors.

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Making Diamonds Out of Charcoal

SOME curious examples of elements are known which possess the same kind of atoms and yet show widely different properties. Thus we have two kinds of phosphorus: one a colorless, wax-like solid, exceedingly poisonous and spontaneously inflammable; the other a red powder, neither poisonous nor spontaneously inflammable. They are both composed of phosphorus, and when burned, equal weights of them yield the same weight of the compound of phosphorus and oxygen which is formed.

Lampblack (and, to a large extent, coal and coke), graphite and diamonds consist solely of carbon, as can be easily proved by burning each one of these varieties, and collecting the same gas, carbon dioxide, in each case. To the scientist, chimney soot and the diamond are merely *allotropic* forms of the element carbon! Just as we can conceive of two entirely different houses being built with the same bricks, so we may picture two entirely different elements formed from the same atoms: the difference lies in the configuration of the building, in the internal structure of the molecule.

The diamond can be charred, and the mass left is pure charcoal—a rather costly but perfectly simple operation. What of the reverse operation—can a piece of ordinary charcoal be converted into a diamond? From the fact that diamonds are still the privilege of the wealthy, it may either be inferred that the operation has not been accomplished, or that the process is beset with great difficulties. The latter only is true. Moissan—the Moissan of fluorine fame—has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that charcoal can be converted into diamond; unfortunately or fortunately—I don't know which—the cost of the process far outweighs the value of the diamond produced. His method is worth a little attention.

Among the first objects we stumble across in a visit to the Museum of Natural History are those huge masses of metal or stone, at one time fragments of planetary bodies, which fell from the sky to find an abode on mother earth. Moissan, in the course of some studies on these meteorities, as they are known, was surprised to find some very fine particles near the center of the mass, which, though black in color, showed the form and hardness of diamond. They were identified as typical diamonds. The next problem was to explain their presence. The physical and geological explanation that offered itself, and since applied to the formation of the diamond in the earth's crust, was that the meteorite at some time was a mass of material at a very high temperature, and as it cooled, the outer portions contracted more quickly than the inner, thereby bringing to bear an enormous pressure upon the inside. This pressure converted some of the carbon within the meteorite into diamond.

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At about the same time Moissan had invented his electric furnace, which enabled him to register temperatures as high as 3,000 degrees centigrade; and he immediately thought of putting his theory of diamond formation to the test. Thereupon he surrounded some particles of carbon with iron, and heated the mixture in his furnace. The molten mass was now taken out and chilled. Portions of the interior, when treated with acids to dissolve the iron, showed a residue having all the characteristic properties of the diamond.

The Nobel prize was a well-deserved reward for these accomplishments.

The Basis of Wireless Telegraphy

RESEARCH into the more fundamental properties of matter, leading, among other things, to the discovery that the atoms themselves are complex in their make-up, was begun about the middle of the last century. Today we know that light is transmitted by waves in the ether; but what are these waves and what is ether? Mathematical deduction led to the view that repeated electrical disturbance would radiate waves of an electro-magnetic nature in the ether. This was experimentally confirmed by one of the most gifted souls of the nineteenth century, Heinrich Hertz (1857-94). Hertz proved the existence of these electro-magnetic waves by inventing an electric "eye"—an instrument attuned or sensitive to these waves—very much as our own eye is sensitive to the rays of light. Hertz further proved that these electro-magnetic waves could be reflected, refracted, and polarized just as light can be. Even their velocity of propagation was found to be of the same order as that of light.

The direct practical outcome of these wonderful researches was wireless telegraphy, as developed by Marconi and others.

Von Helmholtz, that towering giant among the scientific luminaries of the last century, retired from the University of Bonn in 1889, and at Helmholtz's suggestion his favorite pupil, Hertz, was appointed his successor to the chair of physics. Hertz was then but 32, but his delicate frame held out for only five years more.

Four Luminaries in the Field of Light

TO four different countries has Jewry given men who have made themselves famous along lines closely allied to those of Heinrich Hertz. Albert Michelson (b. 1852), long an international figure in the world of optics, has shown exceptional ingenuity in devising delicate instruments for experimental research. One of the best known of these is an apparatus for the determination of the velocity of light, which is, according to Michelson's findings—and they are accepted ones—between 299,793,000

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and 299,913,000 meters per second (a meter is a little over a yard). Michelson is head of the department of physics at Chicago University, and he is the only physicist in this country who has received the Nobel prize.

Gabriel Lippman (1845-1918), professor of experimental physics at the Sorbonne, Paris, member of the Academy, and Nobel Laureate, was perhaps most widely known for his photographic representation of color itself—which, by the way, is still not beyond the experimental stage.

Arthur Schuster (b. 1851), emeritus professor of physics at Manchester University, England, is one of the pioneers in the investigation of the discharge of electricity through gases—investigations which have already led to a thorough revision of our ideas as to the nature of matter, and which are not distantly linked to the electro-magnetic theory of light, so wonderfully developed by Hertz.

Heinrich Rubens (b. 1850), professor of physics at Berlin University, is the great authority on the spectrum, particularly that part of it reaching beyond the red, known as the infra-red, which is entirely invisible to the naked eye, but which may still exert very powerful effects.

Victor Meyer and Ferdinand Cohn

FOR many years certain substances, more or less peculiar to the body, which could not be synthesized in the laboratory, had been grouped together by themselves, and had been dubbed "organic" in contradiction to the many thousands of substances which could be reproduced in the laboratory by comparatively simple means, and which, therefore, could not be endowed with that mysterious "vital force." The synthesis of urea in the laboratory—a substance as typical a body product as could be found—immediately upset the whole school of vitalism. Today we still divide our chemistry into inorganic and organic, but we no longer attach any such meaning to the words. Organic substances are those which contain the element carbon, and as there are more than 150,000 of these at present, their study is an important branch of the science. Incidentally, although all carbon compounds are not those found in the animal or plant world, all compounds constituting the latter are carbon compounds. In the development of organic chemistry few have had the share Victor Meyer (1848-97) has had. In classification, in the discovery of basic compounds which have since given rise to thousands of others, many of which are of great importance in the dye industry, and in methods of analysis, few have surpassed him. At 24 he was made professor of chemistry at Zürich, at 37 he succeeded to the chair at Göttingen, and at 41 he was appointed to Heidelberg, the most famous chemical school of the day, as successor to Bunsen, the foremost chemist of his

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time. Eight years later this rarely gifted man, in a fit of despondency, took his own life.

In our imaginative process of synthesis we start with a something, fundamental to all matter, out of which the elements are built; these give rise to compounds, at first relatively simple, but later becoming more and more complex. Gradually—so gradual that no line of demarcation can be pointed out—we step from the extremely complex, lifeless body to the simplest living body. Many of these latter are so small that the microscope alone can detect them. The application of the microscope in the elucidation of our knowledge of micro-organisms was undertaken by, among others, Julius Ferdinand Cohn (1828-98), professor of botany at Breslau. His exhaustive study of animal cells and plant life led him to the view that bacteria are plants, for in their mode of life they resemble fungi (plants which do not contain chlorophyll). Cohn is rightly regarded as the founder of the great science of bacteriology, which, dealing as it does with such bacilli as those of the tubercle, anthrax, typhoid, diphtheria, tetanus, plague, influenza, etc., is evidently one of the pillars supporting modern medicine.

Cohn was also largely responsible for exposing the absurdity of the theory of abiogenesis, then very largely held, which postulated the production of living from non-living matter. He proved that in every case where the contrary was claimed, micro-organisms did not arise *de novo*, but invariably from pre-existing groups.

A Famous Family of Scientists—the Herschels

FROM the microcosm to the macrocosm, from a study of the infinitesimal to a study of the cosmos: here again the Jews are rich contributors. The Herschels stand out pre-eminently. William (1738-1822), a musician by profession, and an astronomer in his leisure time, eventually became Astronomer-Royal to King George as the result of his discovery of a new planet and several of its satellites. A diligent maker of lenses—very much after the fashion of another great son of Israel—he developed his telescope to the extent of seeing with it what others had never seen before; and to his map he could add hundreds of new double stars, clusters and nebulae, besides adding much to our knowledge of Saturn's satellites, the rotation of its rings, the constitution of the nebulae and the milky way. Much of the details of Herschel's work is due to his sister Caroline (1750-1840), who was his principal assistant, and faithful "watcher" of the heavens at all hours of the day and night.

Sir John Herschel (1792-1871), the famous son of the famous Sir William, with all the advantages of a first-class education, never rose to the heights of his father in originality of work, though he was a far more

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accomplished scholar. Perhaps his most lasting contribution to the science was his great map of the southern hemisphere, the result of four years of observation. But Sir John was more than an astronomer; he was a noted mathematician; he was Senior Wrangler and Smith's Prize-man at Cambridge, and he translated an elaborate work on the differential calculus from the French. He was also a chemist of no mean proportions; we owe the "hypo" of photography to him.

The Epoch-Making Discoveries of Jacques Loeb

ALMOST all the greatest of the more recent discoveries in the sciences are due to the application of the teachings of the fundamental sciences to the particular one in question. The great strides in biology and the great strides in medicine have been due to the insight of some investigators who supplied themselves with tools made wholly in the laboratories of physics and chemistry. One of the earliest to recognize this was Jacques Loeb (b. 1859), at present director of biological research at the Rockefeller Institute. This great pioneer in a specialized field has long since added his name to the immortals by a series of researches which are nothing short of dazzling in their brilliancy. One in particular has fired the imagination: it is the subject of artificial parthenogenesis.

Fertilization consists in bringing together the male and female germ cells—the spermatozoön and the ovum—by which means the two sex nuclei enter into intimate union. Instances are known—the bee, for example, where unfertilized eggs develop into drones—where the eggs of some insects develop without fertilization. This is called parthenogenesis (from the Greek *parthenos*, virgin). Loeb has shown, in a series of epoch-making experiments, that *artificial* parthenogenesis can be produced by treatment of the eggs of sea urchins in various ways. For example, the unfertilized ova of a sea-urchin (arbacia) and a worm (choetopterus) may develop into larvae (the early stage of life—not yet fully developed), if they are placed for a short time in sea water whose proportions of salts have been altered by the addition of magnesium chloride, etc., and then returned to their normal medium. A combination of physical and chemical influences, then, are sufficient to enable the female cell to develop without the co-operation of the male cell. No more startling announcement has ever been made in the history of epoch-making discoveries. One may almost forgive Loeb for his mechanistic conception of the universe.

Willstätter and Chlorophyll

SEVERAL years ago Adolph von Baeyer, the father of the great coal-tar industry in Germany, resigned his chair at the University of

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Munich, and at his suggestion, Richard Willstätter (b. 1872), a former pupil of his, was invited to succeed him. With the possible exception of Emil Fischer, the country of celebrated chemists cannot boast of a greater one today than Willstätter. For some time he was assistant to Baeyer at Munich; then he was appointed to the chair at Zürich made famous by Victor Meyer's occupancy. When the great research institute at Berlin-Dahlem was inaugurated, Willstätter was requested to take charge of the chemical department. Now, after but two years at Berlin, he has returned to his alma mater.

Early in his career Willstätter's interest showed itself in his careful studies of the chemistry of complicated substances peculiar to animal and plant life—again an illustration of the application of a fundamental science to the elucidation of problems in physiology and botany. His epoch-making researches into the chemistry of chlorophyll, begun in 1907 and practically completed in 1913, are the most notable, and have earned him the Nobel prize.

Chlorophyll is the most interesting single substance known to science. The green parts of all plants contain it. With its help the carbon dioxide and the moisture of the air are taken up by the plant and there synthesized to sugars, to fats, and, with the help of the nitrates from the soil, to proteins. Without it, as without the sun, life would be impossible. No wonder that the substance has interested man from very earliest times. Hundreds of chemists had tried to isolate it in a pure condition and had failed. The problem seemed almost as insoluble as the isolation of pure enzymes—those wonderful little somethings which are responsible for so many important anabolic and katabolic changes in the body. Within six years Willstätter and his pupils had not only isolated chlorophyll in a pure form, but had worked out its composition and its mode of reaction under the most diverse conditions. Details of the work are, of course, impossible here; but it may be pointed out that the opinion so long held by botanists that chlorophyll contains iron in very much the same way that the hemoglobin of the blood does, is altogether erroneous. Chlorophyll does not contain a trace of iron. It does, however, contain magnesium, and it is quite possible that the important rôle of the iron (in hemoglobin) in respiration is duplicated by some equally significant rôle of the magnesium in chlorophyll. At any rate, just as iron is absolutely necessary to the animal, magnesium is equally indispensable to the plant.

Willstätter has recently added some very valuable information to our knowledge of the red and yellow pigments in flowers and leaves, but the work is still incomplete.

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Ehrlich and "606"

JACQUES LOEB'S training had been in medicine, yet he clearly saw that the great problems of medicine could be best attacked with the help of physics and chemistry. These he studied diligently for years. Ehrlich (1854-1915) also received his training in medicine. He also very early in his career saw clearly that the elucidation of great problems required a detailed knowledge of the more fundamental sciences. In many of the diseases due to the production of poisonous products in the body, the treatment is complicated by the fact that substances which, when injected, have the power of killing the poisonous product, also have an injurious effect on the system as a whole. Arsenic, for example, is a substance of this type. In an exhaustive study of syphilis, Ehrlich conceived the idea that a chemical combination of arsenic with another group might produce a compound which would be powerful enough to kill the poison, and at the same time be powerless to harm the system. Finally, after 606 attempts, a compound was obtained which had all the desired qualities; hence the name "606."

To be acclaimed as the greatest modern exponent of medical therapeutics, to be ranked with Pasteur and Koch, is Ehrlich's distinction. To the public he is known chiefly as the discoverer of "606," but this great triumph is merely the climax of a series of progressive researches, all of the most far-reaching importance.

Very early in life, Ehrlich began a series of investigations on the action of dyestuffs on different parts of the body. He found that the same dyestuffs act differently on different tissues. A given dye would act in a particular way upon a certain part of the system, and would fail to act, or act in an entirely different way, upon another part. This led him to the idea of specificity—the idea that cells are specific in their functions. Each cell possesses certain atomic groupings, certain chemical structures, that enable it to combine or react with certain types of substances, whose relationship with parts of the cell may be compared to the relationship existing between a lock and a key. If a dye reacts with nervous tissue and not with adipose tissue, it is because it finds its *receptor*, or fitting key, in the former.

Now note how Ehrlich makes use of this basic idea in all his work. The blood, besides consisting of the fluid or serum portion, also contains solids, chief of which are the corpuscles—the red (hemoglobin) oxygen carriers, and the white (leucocytes) body defenders. Ehrlich found that in different parts of the body the white corpuscles stained dyes quite differently. This suggested to him that more than one type of leucocyte was present. And indeed a close investigation revealed five different varieties. This discovery is of great importance. In normal human beings, definite amounts of

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each of these five different varieties of leucocytes are present in the blood; it is only in pathological conditions that the proportions vary.

In the course of his experiments with dyes, Ehrlich found that tubercle bacilli retentively retain fuchsine, a red dye. This at once gave a ready means of identifying the tuberculosis bacillus, and has proved of inestimable service. By staining bacteria with fuchsine and then treating with acid, all, with the exception of the tubercle bacilli, will readily give up the dye.

The Miracle of Immunity

TO the study of immunity Ehrlich has been the most important contributor. It is known to all that certain people are more resistant to attacks, less apt to contract disease, than others. Why? We answer, some persons are physically strong, others weak. That is quite true, But a further explanation can be offered in the light of Metchnikoff's* study. We have spoken of the leucocytes, the white blood corpuscles. These were found to be the body's defenders. No sooner did virulent microbes from the outside find their way into the system than the leucocytes would at once attack them, and a battle royal would ensue. If the leucocytes were numerous and strong enough, the invaders were soon vanquished; if not, the leucocytes in turn were slaughtered, the resulting dead matter forming the so-called "pus." Upon this the invaders would thrive and gradually spread over the whole system, bringing havoc and ruin in their train.

What was to be understood, then, by the expression, "a healthy individual"? That the component parts of his system were healthy; that his blood was healthy; that his leucocytes were numerous and vigorous. The problem now becomes not so much one of curing the disease as increasing the resistive power of the individual.

It was found in the course of experiments that whereas a given quantity of a toxic substance would prove fatal, that same amount, if given in small quantities at a time, would prove harmless. Further experiments showed that the amounts of these toxic or poisonous substances could be increased with successive injections without serious harm; and a stage could finally be reached where a quantity which in the beginning would have proved immediately fatal could be injected with impunity.

Still further investigation showed that the injection of toxic substances gave rise to antitoxic bodies in the system, and provided the dose was not too large at any one time, a sufficient amount of the antitoxic substance was manufactured to neutralize the poisonous influence of the toxins.

* Metchnikoff's mother was a Jewess.

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These researches culminated in von Behring's diphtheria cure. By gradually injecting the diphtheria toxin into a horse, an antitoxin accumulated in the blood. The blood of the animal was withdrawn, and the serum used to combat the ravages of the disease.

But how are we to explain all this? Again making use of his fundamental idea, the lock and chain system, Ehrlich evolved his now celebrated side-chain theory. Without going into details which would lead to many technicalities, some idea of it can be given. Ehrlich conceived toxic substances to possess certain atomic groupings which make them fit into groupings possessed by the cell. The atomic groupings of the latter act as the conveyors of cells: they regulate the intake and output to and from the cell. The toxic substance, however, by combining with them, destroys their indispensable action for the normal function of the cell. Still, if the amount of poison be not excessive, the cell has the power of creating more atomic groupings to take the place of those that have become useless; and this manufacture of these groupings is so rapid that more of them are created than can be found room for in the cell. The excess of these groups break off, drift into the blood stream, and there neutralize the toxins. By repeated small injections of toxic substances, these neutralizers, or "autotoxins," accumulate, and it is blood containing these neutralizers that is used to combat disease.

Ehrlich's work more than any other has emphasized the paramount importance of applying chemical principles and working along chemical lines in medicine. The schools of modern medicine are filled with chemical specialists.

Researches in the Vital Needs of the Body

THE intelligent layman, hearing and reading much about the body as a machine, is fond of discussing the fuel needs of the body. He talks wisely of so many calories needed each day for the maintenance of body functions. And yet he has more than a suspicion that calories alone do not sum up the situation. A person needing, say, 2,500 calories per day would not thrive if all of this were given in the shape of fat, or carbohydrate alone. These calories have to be divided between protein, fat, and carbohydrate in such a way that a certain minimum of each is included in a diet intended to satisfy and to nourish. The layman goes no further. Yet the science of dietetics has gone much, much beyond. Give your man his 2,500 calories; further, divide them so that he gets the required minimum of each of the three great classes of foodstuffs; yet, in spite of all this, if mineral salts are absent from the diet, life is impossible. Fortunately our tastes lead us to season foods; fortunately, also, many of our foods contain the small quantity of mineral salts—

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calcium phosphate (for bone) and salt (for blood), for example—that are necessary.

But this is not all. You may have your calories, you may have your three classes of foodstuffs, you may have your mineral salts, and still all may not be well. For example, it has been known for a number of years that if gelatin be used exclusively as the protein—and gelatin is a very typical protein—serious disturbances and even death may result. Evidently, then, the nature of the protein is all-important. The explanation of much of this mystery is due to Professor Lafayette B. Mendel (b. 1872) of Yale. Prolonged studies have shown us that all proteins are made up of certain building stones (the *bausteine* of the Germans) known as amino acids. The variation in the different proteins is largely a matter of difference in the number and amount of the building stones (amino acids). The proteins are broken down into their building-stones in the digestive tract and it is as amino-acids that they are absorbed by the blood, which carries them either to the cells to be re-synthesized into proteins, or to the liver, to be broken up, in a large measure, into urea, which finds its way into the urine. The cells, in order to live and thrive, must have certain of these building-stones, and as they are absent in some proteins, it stands to reason that such proteins will not satisfy. There is the trouble with gelatin. Mendel has shown that the protein, zein, found in maize, is just as deficient as gelatin, and for precisely the same reason. Some proteins, such as the gliadin of wheat, will just satisfy maintenance conditions; while others, such as casein (in milk), edestin (in hemp seed), and glutenin (in wheat) satisfy both maintenance and growth. It is to be understood that in all cases the necessary amounts of fat, carbohydrate and mineral salts are added.

As if this were not sufficient, further trouble is in store for poor humanity. Traces of substances have been found which seem to be just as important as the foodstuffs themselves. For example, this "something"—named "Vitamine" by Casimir Funk (b. 1884), a young Polish Jew, to whom we owe much of our knowledge on this subject—can be extracted from milk, with the result that the residue becomes valueless as a food, in spite of the fact that the residue contains all the protein (so excellent a one, moreover, as casein), all the fat, all the carbohydrates and all the mineral salts; but no sooner is the extract added than normal conditions are restored. Funk has been able to show that certain diseases, scurvy, pellagra, and particularly beri-beri, are "deficiency" diseases, due to the absence of these mysterious vitamines.

The Achievement of Einstein

AND now another of the "chosen" has come to the forefront. With what a bound has this Einstein leaped into the very front ranks

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of the world's scientists and philosophers! Listen to Sir J. J. Thomson, England's most distinguished physicist: "Einstein's reasoning is the result of one of the highest achievements of human thought." And to Max Planck, professor of physics at the University of Berlin: "It (Einstein's theory of gravitation) surpasses in boldness everything previously suggested in speculative natural philosophy and even in the philosophical theories of knowledge. The revolution introduced into the physical conceptions of the world is only to be compared in extent and depth with that brought about by the introduction of the Copernican system of the universe."

What has this Albert Einstein done to merit such extraordinary praise? With the world in turmoil, with classes and races in a death struggle, with millions suffering and starving, why do we find time to turn our attention to this Swiss (or German?—which?) Jew? His ideas have no bearing on Europe's calamity. They will not add one bushel of wheat to starving populations.

The answer is not hard to find. Men come and men go, but the mystery of the universe remains. It is Einstein's glory to have given us a deeper insight into the universe. Our scientists are Huxley's agnostics: they do not deny activities beyond our planet; they merely center their attention on the knowable on this earth. Our philosophers, on the other hand, go far afield. Some of them soar so high that, like one poet's opinion of Shelley, the bubble bursts. Einstein, using the tools of the scientist—the experimentalist—builded a skyscraper which ultimately reached the philosophical school. His rôle is the rôle of alcohol in causing water and ether (the anesthetic) to mix. Ether and water mix no better than oil and water; but when alcohol is added a uniform mixture is obtained.

To give a detailed exposition of Einstein's theory of relativity and law of gravitation is entirely beyond the scope of this article; but some of the outstanding features of Einstein's theory are not difficult to explain.

A Glimpse of the Einstein Theory

VELOCITY, or movement in space, is at the basis of Einstein's work, as it was at the basis of Newton's. But time and space no longer have the distinct meanings that they had when examined with the help of Newton's equations. Time and space are not independent, but interdependent. They are meaningless when treated as separated entities, giving results which may hold for one body in the universe but do not hold for any other body. To get general laws which are applicable to the cosmos as a whole, the fundamentals of mechanics must be united.

Einstein's great achievement consists in applying this revised conception of space and time to elucidate cosmical problems. "World-

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lines," representing the progress of particles in space, and consisting of space-time combinations (the four dimensions), are "strained" or "distorted" in space due to the attraction that bodies exhibit for one another (the force of gravitation). On the other hand, gravitation itself—more universal than aught else in the universe—may be interpreted in terms of strains on world-lines, or, what amounts to the same thing, in terms of strains on space-time combinations. This brings gravitation within the field of Einstein's conception of time and space.

That Einstein's conception of the universe is an improvement upon that of Newton's is evidenced by the fact that Einstein's law explains all that Newton's does, and also other facts which Newton's law is incapable of explaining. Among the latter may be mentioned the distortion of the oval orbits of planets round the sun (confirmed in the case of the planet Mercury), the deviation of light rays in a gravitational field (confirmed by the English Solar Eclipse Expedition), and the shifting of the spectrum lines (said to have been confirmed very recently by a group of young physicists working at Bonn University).

Albert Einstein, we are informed by his English friends, was born in Switzerland. I have heard rumors lately that Einstein himself claims an obscure spot in Germany for his birthplace. At any rate, he was born some 45 years ago. At first he was engaged in the Patent Bureau in Berne, and later became professor at the Zürich Polytechnic. After a short stay at Prague University, Einstein accepted one of those tempting "Akademiker" professorships at the University of Berlin—professorships which insure a comfortable income, little university work beyond, perhaps, one lecture a week, and splendid facilities for research.

Einstein published his first paper on relativity in 1905, when not more than 30 years old. A much fuller exposition appeared in 1916.

Unless we are much mistaken, Einstein will take his place as the greatest scientist the Jews have so far produced. He is already regarded as belonging to the little band of five or six greatest scientists in the world's history.

Benjamin Harrow

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Two Views of Jewish Education

By I. L. Kandel

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THE problem of Jewish education is being re-discovered. In few other fields of Jewish life has the force of traditionalism been so potent. Eager as Jews have been to provide for the education of their children, their schools have failed to keep pace with the advance in educational thought and practice. The greatest failure, however, has been the absence of adjustment to a changing environment. Those types of education—the Melamed, the Heder and the Talmud Torah—which might be suited to conditions where other facilities were either not available or denied to Jews, have been transplanted to a soil where they have to compete with the public schools without any attempt at a readjustment to changed conditions. The Ghetto child who devoted all his time to the Heder or the Talmud Torah, in whose work the parents co-operated, could benefit from a certain type of discipline of by no means negligible value. The same schools in competition with the public schools of western Europe, and under conditions in which the synagogue has lost the place in the community that it once enjoyed, have faced a struggle for existence which menaces their survival. The causes have not been merely indifference in religious affairs but a failure to realize that Jewish schools must meet the standards that prevail in the secular schools in matters of building, teachers, and methods of organization and instruction.

Some attempts at adaptation have been made, especially in Germany, where religious instruction is allotted a place in the time-table of the public elementary schools; and in England, where a few denominational schools have sprung up in the larger Jewish centers. In both cases, however, the curriculum of Jewish education, consisting of a reading knowledge of the Daily Prayers, the Pentateuch, and a little scriptural history, has on the whole been unsatisfactory. Closing with the school period, it has not furnished a basis for further study nor has it awakened an interest in Jewish knowledge. It was conceived, in other words, wholly from the point of view of the needs of synagogue service and the practice of the daily observances and ceremonials. The Sunday school made no effort to go beyond this, and in addition it suffered, as the day school did not, from poor housing, poor attendance, and generally bad teaching.

The Awakening to the Problem in America

IN the United States, where even the modicum provided by the German public school or the English denominational school is lacking, and where the work and scope of the Sunday school are negligible, the gravity of the situa-

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tion has been realized and more serious efforts to solve the problem have been made. A number of causes have served to direct attention to the problem. First of all, there is the obvious fact that only a very small percentage of Jewish children are receiving Jewish education of any kind; secondly, the Jewish schools have lacked financial support; thirdly, there is a patent discrepancy between the public and the religious schools; fourthly, the Zionist or nationalist revival has stimulated a new interest in education; and finally, the numerous contributions made to religious education by other denominations have directed attention to the weaknesses of Jewish schools.

It was undoubtedly the last cause that stimulated Rabbi Louis Grossmann to write *The Aims of Teaching in Jewish Schools, a Handbook for Teachers* (Cincinnati, 1919). This work is an attempt to apply "the large views and the efficient practice of modern education" to Jewish schools. Written from the standpoint of the Principal of the Teachers' Institute of the Hebrew Union College, it is obvious that the work can offer but little suggestion for meeting the more acute problems of Orthodox Jewish education. Rabbi Grossmann does not, however, give any account of the type of school that he has in mind, the period of attendance, or the qualifications of teachers employed,—all of which would furnish some criteria for evaluating his statement of aims. If he has the Sunday school in mind, only the most skilled teachers could be expected to carry out these aims in the limited time available. And yet many of his observations on child life and psychology could only have been addressed to a very immature and very naïve audience. "Religious pedagogy," writes Rabbi Grossmann in his Preface—overlooking some of the contributions of Professors Coe, Athearn, and others, "is a new science and still lacks both the dash of pioneers and the vision of innovators." Perhaps the fear of incurring suspicion as a pioneer compelled the author to adopt a method of child study which is some twenty years behind the times, and whose results are based wholly on the unsupported observations and assertions of the writer himself. Every page challenges attention; the reader is compelled to stop and wonder whether he has ever met "the child," always the Jewish child, described by Rabbi Grossmann.

The Eight Periods of the "Jewish Child"

"THE child's" life, very fortunately for the school, is, according to the author, divided by nature into eight periods, one for each grade. In the third grade the child is dependent; in the fourth—a matter of one year—he becomes independent, begins to control himself and enters on "the period of intellectual and moral absorption"; and in one year more, in the fifth grade, he learns about duty. Such "central truths" furnish the basis of the work of each grade. And yet although dependence is the central truth of the third grade, the Jewish child at this stage "is much given to assert his personality," a defect of which he rids himself in the next year, for "it is not yet time" (in the fourth grade) "for self-expression." Indeed, only the sixth grade witnesses the rise of personality, and finally, in the seventh, "individuality develops." What a long and painful struggle of repression and expression from the third

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grade on! The same kind of reliance on inner consciousness is responsible for the statement that "the child at this age (the sixth grade) is not yet social; that is, does not yet know the precise bearings his life has toward others," a statement that the youngest student in a kindergarten course could disprove. The same kind of observation leads to the statement that children in the seventh grade have no such capacity as adults for communion in worship, because "they cannot de-individualize themselves,"—a direct contradiction of the strong movement both here and in England for school assemblies and socialized activities even in elementary schools.

Rabbi Grossmann does not confine his generalizations to "the child." He tells us, for example, that "We modern Jews need to cultivate more of the esthetic and poetic side of character. Jewish religiousness and Jewish morals are too prosaically intellectual." These defects in Jewish character are to be eradicated as early as possible, in the kindergarten in fact, which should cultivate the imagination, for "especially is this need apparent in the Jewish child, whose soul should be saved from lapsing into dull intellectualism, and in whose case the truth should apply most emphatically that knowledge and character are stale without the condiment of fancy." And so Zangwill and Israel Cohen and Joseph Jacobs go by the board and are ruled out of court.

Educating the Child "For His Own Destiny"

ON this psychological basis the religious education is built up. "We are not educating the child in our religious schools for the synagogue nor for Judaism, but for his own destiny," may be taken as a typical statement of the aim. The greater part of the book is, however, devoted to moral instruction rather than religious training. Rabbi Grossman several times emphasizes the point that the public schools are defective in moral instruction, and perhaps for that reason his Jewish school is to bridge the gap. "In the public school the child learns the facts of every-day life. In the religious school he learns to interpret them, to see their meaning, and to use them for high ends." The difference, so far as one can discover, between Rabbi Grossmann's Jewish school and any other denominational school is that the content for this moral instruction is more or less Jewish. Hebrew, "an avowedly Jewish subject," is introduced in the third grade, "when the language instinct is alert and more responsive," as "the organ of Jewish piety." The Jewish child must learn that Hebrew was a spoken language and so "Let Joshua play upon the imagination full-tide, but let him be a Hebrew Joshua, who talks Hebrew. A snatch or two of his own words, on significant occasions in his story, will help to make him real." And yet Hebrew would surely be more real to "the child" if it were told not only that Hebrew was, but still is, a spoken language. Rabbi Grossmann neglects to refer to the revival of Hebrew or to the modern methods for teaching it. Indeed, for Rabbi Grossmann's Jewish schools the Jews ceased to exist at the close of the Biblical era, although the Talmudic Rabbis "for what they were and did" have "a title to an assured place in the school and in the Jewish Home." There the history of the Jews stops.

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Rabbi Grossmann's book, endorsed as it is in an introduction by President G. Stanley Hall as "the best treatise on religious pedagogy that has anywhere yet appeared," will no doubt appeal to the Sunday school teachers for whom it is intended. As a contribution to the solution of the real problem of Jewish education, a problem that is fundamental to Jewish life in the future, it is negligible and insignificant. The problem can only be handled by one who has been trained in the modern principles of educational administration and methods, and who realizes it not primarily as an appanage of the synagogue or as a problem of the individual Jew but as essentially the problem of Judaism and the Jewish people.

A Sound Analysis and Survey of the Problem

THE Bureau of Jewish Education of New York City has made possible studies of this question by a number of young students excellently equipped not only as Jewish teachers but by American college training and professional study of modern education. *Jewish Education in New York City,* by Dr. Alexander M. Dushkin, is the first contribution by a member of the small group of Dr. Samson Benderly's co-workers to apply to Jewish education the methods of modern educational research. Unlike Rabbi Grossmann's product of inner consciousness, Dr. Dushkin's work, presented as a dissertation for the Ph. D. degree at Columbia University, is based on a close investigation of the actual facts, on a study of what has been done and is being done for Jewish education in New York City, and on the application of the principles suggested by sociology and education to the problem. Dr. Dushkin is not concerned with the training of the young Jew for the synagogue nor for his own destiny, but recognizes that the real problem is how to integrate the training of the Jew and the training of the American citizen. Indeed, the volume is an important contribution not only to Jewish education but to Americanization. In other words, Jewish education is for the Jew in this country merely one method for Americanizing the Jew; it is fundamentally a problem of adjustment.

The first part of the work is devoted to an analysis of the social basis of Jewish education in America and the history of Jewish education in New York City, leading up to the activities of the Bureau of Jewish Education and a discussion of tendencies. The second part probably represents the first attempt to apply the methods of the school survey on a large scale to Jewish education. Such a survey is fundamental to any suggestions that may be offered for reform. Dr. Dushkin omits no aspect of educational activity that is vital for a consideration of the further needs of the school. An examination of Jewish education in New York in 1918 brings out the startling fact that less than 25 per cent of the Jewish children are receiving Jewish instruction either privately or in the Heder or in some other Jewish school. The reasons for this condition are partially presented in the chapters on school buildings, organization, finances, school management and discipline, the teaching staff and their status, and the content of Jewish education. The failure to attract more pupils is not due

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mainly to indifference on the part of parents but largely to the inadequacy of the organization in buildings, teachers, finances, and curriculum. The pupil always has the public school as a basis of comparison and the Jewish school in most cases comes off second best. Jewish education in fact is not regarded as a community problem and that is the root difficulty which means wasteful competition, meaningless variation, and lack of standardization. The communal attitude on the subject is best evidenced by the languishing, half-hearted support given to the Bureau of Jewish Education, the first agency that has attempted "to deal with the problem of Jewish education in a comprehensive, non-partisan way," to make a contribution to a unified system, and to apply scientific principles of education to the problem.

The Bearing of Jewish Education Upon America's Future

THE results of Dr. Dushkin's survey merely reaffirm the truism that a community cannot have a better system of education than it deserves. The attempt to reproduce in this country under different economic and social conditions a type of education developed elsewhere has had a fair trial, and according to Dr. Dushkin's analysis has failed. An education based on financial conditions that rise no higher than charity, that furnishes a curriculum that is arid and meaningless and not intended to develop interests to survive after confirmation, is bound to fail. No amount of emotional appeal, no amount of pulpit exhortations, no amount of moral and religious platitudes can be relied upon to bring about a revival, the need of which the community does not understand. If the community is to be stirred to address itself to the task of reform, it must be brought to a recognition of the actual conditions and to a realization that to-day the problem of Jewish education affects not merely the salvation of the Jews but is part and parcel of the country's immediate problem of Americanization.

The chief value of Dr. Dushkin's study rests on the ability with which he has combined these two aspects of the problem, and for this reason the first chapter, on "The Social Bases of Jewish Education in America," which presents an able analysis of the problem and provides the keynote of the work, is undoubtedly the most important in the book. The question, as Dr. Dushkin rightly sees it, is not merely one of religious training—that after all is fundamentally one for the Jewish home,—but as the author says: "In this land the Jews are making a struggle for adjustment not only economic but also social and psychic. Their social reorientation is of importance not only to themselves, but also to the country in which they live. How much of their cultural and religious heritage, how many of their folkways, how much of their social organization shall they preserve, in order to live complete lives in America? How shall they educate their children so as to make them heirs of their social heritage, and at the same time insure their full adjustment as American citizens? These questions are of significance to the future of America and of American education." For in spite of the complexity of attitudes among the Jews themselves—orthodox, conservative, and reform in

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religion,—in spite of the differences on the subject of nationalism, the Jews have a contribution to make to American life in which all sects can unite. They have a right "to preserve that culture and those ideals which they consider of great worth to themselves, and to their children, unless these values are prone to be detrimental to the interests of the majority."

A training in the historic experience of the Jewish people will serve to enrich the Jew as an individual and, to the extent that such training emphasizes obligations and responsibilities, it supplements the efforts of the public school in developing a sense of loyalty and duty. At the same time the new Jewish school, properly organized and supported and with ample time to carry out its chosen task, will supplement public education with that religious education that is peculiarly the affair of the community. Finally, the Jewish school can contribute its share to the Americanization of the immigrant not by the shortcut, snappy courses in English and civics, which too frequently alienate the younger generation from their parents and fail to produce Americans, but by a conscious and gradual transition that gives new meaning to the social and cultural heritage of the Jew and an added significance to his new position as an American citizen. Hence Dr. Dushkin's purpose is "first to show the significance of Jewish education as part of a complete scheme of American education; and second, to point out that Jewish education is not religious education, merely in the denominational sense."

A Broad Curriculum That Serves Vital Needs

APPROACHING the problem from these premises Dr. Dushkin develops a curriculum for the Jewish school that will meet these aims. Religious education has its place but in itself is insufficient and fails to prepare the pupil for his adult life as a Jew. Too frequently the Jewish school has failed to deal with the Jewish present. "The Bible, and the classic literature, the liturgy, the laws and the history of the Jews, are absolutely indispensable for the education of the American Jewish child. But in a rapidly changing 'dynamic' society such as ours these studies alone cannot suffice for preparing the growing Jewish child for its life in this country. The Immediate Past, the Living Present, and the Approaching Future must be included with the more Remote Past in any worth-while scheme of American Jewish education." Such a content will serve as a foundation for the perpetuation of Jewish life in this country, for the cultivation of an interest in Jews in other parts of the world and especially in Palestine, and for the defense of the civil rights of Jews wherever they live. The bond, in other words, will be spiritual and cultural instead of sentimental and philanthropic. There is no question here of nationalism or Zionism or hyphenism. Such an education has in it the element of growth; it does not cease with Bar-Mitzvah; it furnishes an abiding interest in things Jewish that is not bounded by the synagogue walls.

It is unnecessary to enter here into Dr. Dushkin's analysis of the existing situation. In one form or another, whether orthodox or reform, Rabbi Grossmann's work well illustrates the anemic type of school most generally found.

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The Talmud Torahs and the Hedarim, however well organized, equipped and taught, address themselves merely to one-half of the task. It will only be by a reform along the lines recommended by Dr. Dushkin, a reform not based on theory and introspection but already put into practice, so far as inadequate funds permit, by the Bureau of Jewish Education, that Jewish schools will revive and once more assert their historic place in Jewish communal life. Those who are familar with the program of the Menorah movement will welcome Dr. Dushkin's able contribution to the subject of Jewish education as the only genuine foundation for its further progress.

S. L. Kaudel

TWO interesting articles scheduled for early publication in THE MENORAH JOURNAL *are:*

"The Jewish Medical Student of Former Days," by Dr. Harry Friedenwald, the distinguished physician, professor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the University of Maryland, and prominent leader in a number of Jewish educational movements.

"Münsterberg: The Dramatic Figure in Psychology," by Dr. A. A. Roback, one of Münsterberg's pupils, and now connected with the Harvard Department of Psychology of which Münsterberg was the head. Our readers will recall Dr. Roback's recent article on another eminent psychologist of Jewish birth, "Freud: Discoverer of a New World."

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America and Europe

Two Arraignments by Present-Day "Prophets"

By Lithmus

SOCIAL prophecy seems to be, if not an original, at least a highly domesticated capacity of the Jew. There is an irresistible charm for him in the concept of "the nations," and an ancient and vigorous tradition guides him in its interpretation. Prose or poetry, analysis or invective, Waldo Frank's "Our America" or Samuel Roth's "Europe,"—the leaven is the same.

Our America, by Waldo Frank (Boni and Liveright), consists of an introduction and nine essays. These apply, in their variety, the general and underlying theory of the influence of pioneering upon American economic, political, artistic, and philosophical life. The theory itself is not by any means new. It has already had the paternal projection and support of other minds, but, like a properly brought-up child, it behaves well wherever it is put. Under the solicitous guidance of Waldo Frank, the old theory, stimulated by a heavy dose of psycho-analysis, finds new and original application.

Throughout, our ears are dinned with the author's exuberant defiance of Industrialism, and his vehement proclamation of independence for "the first generation of Americans consciously engaged in spiritual pioneering." The catechism and credo of this spiritual revolt is complete: "For us of the younger generation, America is a promise and a dream. Not a dream of infancy in which the real does not enter. The dream rather of young manhood to which the real *must* conform. We are in revolt against the academies and institutions which would whittle America down to a few stale realities current fifty years ago when our land in all but the political surface of its life was yet a colony of Britain. But we are in revolt as well against that organized anarchy to-day expressed in Industrialism which would deny to America any life—hence any unity at all—beyond the ties of traffic and the arteries of trade. We believe we are the true realists; we who insist that in the essence of all realty lies the Ideal. America is for us indeed a promise and a dream. But only because we are sure that in discovering and controlling the complex conditions of our land, we shall find inviolate within them the promise and the dream whereof I speak."

"A Mature Body Moved by a Childish Mind"

THE initial essay, "The Land of the Pioneer," is typical of the author's imperfect sympathies for whatever runs counter to his revolutionary cavorting,—the church, the universities, Charles W. Eliot's "Five-Foot Book Shelf," pragmatism, *The Saturday Evening Post,* and American Wealth. Of current American literature he has something to say, but scarcely in the way

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of praise: "There is nothing more horrible than a physically mature body moved by a childish mind. And if the average American production repels the sensitive American reader the reason is that he is witnessing just this condition. I do not refer here to the cheap feuilleton or the more simple motion-picture play, such as the Western scenes of William Hart. In many of these, the childishness is uniform. A naïveté flushes both material and point of view, quite as in the expressions of normal infancy. I refer to the artistic pabulum which the publishers offer to 'serious' men and women, to whose discussion the literary pages devote their columns. The American is aware of the individual and social problems which inspire the current literatures of Europe. He is conscious of the conflicts of family and sex, of the contrasts of poverty and wealth. Of such stuff also are his books. Their body is mature: but their mental and spiritual motivation remains infantile. A child's mind in a child's body is a flower. A child's mind in the body of a man or a woman is a revolting spectacle. And yet the authors of this sort of book are hailed as realists, their work is acclaimed as social criticism and American interpretation. And when at times a solitary voice emerges with the truth, its message is attacked as morbid and a lie."

Waldo Frank's sympathies and antipathies are catholic, and whole-hearted. After all his rampaging, there is still left a wide margin of solid, tangible truth in his contact with the personality of genius, its subtle balance, its equivocal responses, its essential shyness. We look out upon a panorama of old acquaintances, but some of them glow for us with a new understanding. Jack London, Mark Twain, Abraham Lincoln, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Edgar Lee Masters, Theodore Dreiser, Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost, Amy Lowell, Leo Ornstein, James Oppenheim, Randolph Bourne, not the least, Charlie Chaplin: "There is no doubt. Chaplin is our sweetest playboy, our classic clown, sprite of our buried loves. He is at once the Puck and the muse of a harried people who find in his antic loveliness a mirror for their own wistful and forbidden gaiety, a glimmering invitation to respite and abandon."

The "Paradox" of the "Materialistic" Jew

IN another essay, "The Chosen People," Frank deplores the materialism which to-day in America stultifies the spiritual matriculation of the Jew. "As with the Puritan, so with the Jew, once free in a vast country, the urge of power swiftly shook off its religious and pietistic way, and drove untrammeled to material aggression." The material aggressiveness of the American Jew is no doubt spokesman for a variety of sins. But are there no compensating virtues? Or is material diffidence more desirable,—cloistered, retreating, submerged in a primitive economy? But, of course, for Frank pragmatism is on the blacklist. And yet the desolated Jewries of the world are to-day being kept alive by these materially aggressive American Jews; and Zionism, that most spiritual of all Jewish urgings, has leaned heavily upon these very Jews for support, and now in her greatest hour of triumph clings all the closer to them for assurance. It is no real paradox, but a proper sequence. For, after all, life is

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neither material nor spiritual. It is factual, and both the material and the spiritual are aspects of the same indigent response to the great actuality.

Frank is persuaded that "there is a Jewish paradox, and this paradox is perhaps the equation of the Jew's survival, of his immense success. Always, he has been moved by these seemingly antagonistic motives: the will-to-power, the need of mystical abnegation, the desire for comfort on the sensuous and mental planes." It is a tempting explanation of the functioning of Jewish capacities, but wherein is such a paradox distinctively Jewish? Is it not rather universally human? And "these seemingly antagonistic motives," do they not operate throughout the whole length and breadth of human psychology?

Altogether, the book is a gesture of revulsion from the phenomena of a spiritually brutalizing and stupid America. The arraignment is rather wholesale and occasionally swashbuckling, but undoubtedly sincere. To accuse the author of feeding his calf only with such fodder as he thought would help to fatten it, a selected and predigested diet, shunning the rougher and more obstinate material of unsuitable facts, has been the temptation of some reviewers, but is not quite to the point. A theory he has, to be sure, and an arrangement of facts under the kindly patronage of his theory. However, the impression we get from Frank's arrangement is not that of an arbitrary trimming of fact to theory, driving the whole of life within the limits of a notion, however expansive and refined it may be, but of an attempt to use his theory as an insistent lamp to light the way through the morass of our national experience, and to make a few of its facts less inchoate, less inarticulate.

Europe As a Wicked Example for America

ROTH has written a jeremiad.* It is all the rage nowadays to write jeremiads. Fortunately for the reviewer most of them are balderdash and readily disposed of. But *Europe* is not balderdash, except at its very worst. With occasional exceptions, it is a work of art, free in appearance, but structurally more complex and vari-toned than the casual reader of the book realizes. With a few exceptions, too, it is warm with sincerity and the passionate restraint of genuine inspiration. Only when the poet gets garrulous and argumentative does the sentiment turn flat and prosy.

Prophetic poetry has long since become a distinct genre, and runs the whole gamut of dramatic and lyric expression. The following lines serve, perhaps, as the best example of lyric prophecy in the book:

> "So shall the dawn some day climb over the roofs of Moscow
> And the light glide down the white towers of Vienna,
> And the gold drip from the walls of Westminster
> As sure as the vision once leaned out of the skies of Canaan."

There is a certain kinship between Roth's *Europe* and Waldo Frank's *Our America*. The title of Roth's book is a little misleading. It is really

* *Europe: A Book for America.* By Samuel Roth. New York: Boni & Liveright.

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America he is concerned about, the promise of its idealistic travelings. Europe is only the wicked example, the "down-and-out," and since it lacks the decency to step up and repent, Roth, with more fury than reason, attempts to show it up for the dirty thing he considers it, and lays the lash unremittingly in castigation. Waldo Frank revolts against an industrialized America, but is already witness to the germination and nascency of the forces of release, and these forces work through the media of artistic sensitiveness. It is the dawn of an America of great poetry, great drama, great music. Without art there is no humanity, though he insists that "art with a message is a profanation." It must be the spontaneous art that has its roots deep in the love of life and its realities. Roth, however, would as soon bring America a rattle to play with as offer it a program of artistic encouragement:

"America will go on writing novels.
They will be bad novels.
America will go on producing operas.
They will be bad operas.
America will continue to produce minor poets.
But let not that disturb you.
Novels, operas, poems are of Europe.
Europe has done well by them.
Europe will be remembered by these things.
But what have you to do with novels, operas or poems?
For you, America, there is a greater glory at hand
Than the glory of writing operas and poems.
You, America, are to make earth a worthy habitation for mankind."

A Poet's Counsel of Isolation

ALL this sounds sincere but indicates a lack of historical sophistication. It is even more stupid than the buzzing of the protagonists of that political isolation which the quacks are so vociferously urging upon a credulous public. For Roth, like the solicitous shepherd that he is, would lead us away from the dangerous influence of European art, indeed away from the contamination of all art. Our business is "to make the earth a worthy habitation for mankind"! America's business alone? Not Europe's? It's a fine thing to be able to keep one's chin up in the clouds and forget the hard earth to which our feet are anchored. But the days of covenantal isolation are over. The threads of inter-social relations are becoming more and more finely crossed, building up a sensitive complex of influences. By all means let America labor for that "worthy habitation," but not superciliously, not apart.

Roth has created an illogical antithesis for himself: art on the one hand; on the other, "making the world a worthy habitation for mankind." He is trying to split the factual affinities of life, and is having a desperate time of it. The combination is too puzzling to him, and with Solomonic wisdom he orders the babe cut in two. He offers a program of abstraction, but life is concrete and intricate. Oceans separate, but they connect as well. Europe and America are, after all, still on the same old earth, and no amount of bad reasoning can rule either of them off.

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Europe's Inhumanity to Israel

THROUGHOUT Roth's book there is an undercurrent of heartbreak at Europe's miserable inhumanity to the people of his race. In "For My Own People," this undercurrent grows into a flood of bitter resentment and denunciation, sweeping on from blank despair, through pitiful hope and questioning more racking than despair itself, to a climax of prophetic patience, immutability, and conviction of Israel's immortality.

> "The dogs will bark, the fleas will bite and the wolves will growl,
> But all of them must go down soon, altogether, into the maw of Oblivion.
> The face of Israel will shine with power when Europe will be a name difficult to remember."

Roth is inspired with a double love, Israel and America. For both he makes promises. And yet there is a significance in the difference of their inheritance.

> "Just as the world was once separately Babylon, Nineveh, Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome,
> The World is to-day America."

America inherits the world to-day, but there is no intimation of its immortality. For Israel he holds out the dubious immortality and "power" of patient suffering.

Disillusion and hope constitute a familiar motif in Jewish visioning. But it is a harmony easily spoiled, and requires proper and adjusted emphasis. What is rejected in disillusion must be followed by the surgent inspiration of hope, none the less for its vagaries and crotchets. After all, it is only the little sceptics who are without faith. The great deniers are the great affirmers as well; the greatest rejecters, the most hungry seekers of all.

Lithuania

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THE MENORAH MOVEMENT

For the Study and Advancement of Jewish Culture and Ideals

Intercollegiate Menorah Association

(Founded Jan. 2, 1913. First Menorah Society founded at Harvard University Oct. 25, 1906)

"The object of this organization shall be the promotion in colleges and universities of the study of Jewish history, culture, and problems, and the advancement of Jewish ideals."

Consisting of Menorah Societies of students at 73 American and Canadian colleges and universities.

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Object: To foster and to guide Menorah Education in American colleges and universities and among university graduates and other men and women in the general community interested in Jewish culture and ideals.

Membership: Open to all college and university officers and instructors and to other persons actively interested in educational work and approved by the Membership Committee.

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(Founded Dec. 29, 1919)

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THE
MENORAH JOURNAL

VOLUME VI JUNE, 1920 NUMBER 3

GEORG MORRIS COHEN BRANDES, generally recognized as the leading literary critic of our generation and one of the most powerful intellectual influences in Northern Europe during the past half-century, was born in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1842. He is best known as the author of "Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature," and a volume on Shakespeare, as well as more recent volumes on Voltaire and Goethe. The present article, written exclusively for THE MENORAH JOURNAL, is his first contribution to an American periodical in many years.

The Jew and the Christian World

BY GEORG BRANDES

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ONE who is related to the Judaism of our day through birth only, not through education or studies, must needs exercise much reservation and caution in expressing himself when asked his opinion as to the present status of the Jews.

That the situation of the Jewish people at this moment is most depressing seems only too true. Hatred and the contempt revealed in cruel persecutions of the Jews have never been more intense,—at the very moment, moreover, when believing Jews regard their dearest hope,

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the return to Palestine, as realized,—and are consequently more prepared for jubilation than for sorrow.

There have been times—as, for instance, in the year 1848—when it was confidently assumed that the progress of knowledge and the rising tide of enthusiasm for freedom would extinguish the hatred against the Jews, this hatred being already on the verge of extinction. It has since become evident that the hatred did not disappear, even though the religious fanaticism on which it was based was very much cooled. Instead of being nourished from religious sources, it now derives its nourishment from social and national sources, from false race theories and from antipathies that are only too genuine.

Why Christian Antipathy Is Illogical

IT would, however, be an error to disregard the fruits of Christian education as a main cause of this hatred. It is my own opinion that this main cause has not been combated as powerfully as might very readily be done with our modern analytic sciences.

The Jews neglect only too often to point out how full of contradictions is the antipathy of their enemies. In the Christian almanac these words appear over the first week of the year: "Circumcision of Christ." Christ being a member of the Trinity, the Christians are worshipping a circumcised divinity,—not even a Mohammedan, but a circumcised Jew, as God. Contempt of the Jewish race is thus decidedly out of place.

The Christians have adopted the Jewish feasts, Easter and Pentecost. They have made Christian hymns out of Jewish psalms. They have adopted as Holy Writ the Old Testament written entirely by Jews. Even the New Testament, the part of the Bible that does not concern itself with Judaism, is from the first page to the last of Jewish authorship, and notwithstanding this Christianity regards it as inspired by the Deity.

But this is not all! Christianity, according to its own theology, places the Jewish people higher than the Jewish people has ever placed itself. The Jews have regarded themselves as God's chosen people. But according to Christian doctrines, inasmuch as God's son put on human nature, he also put on a nationality. Which nationality? Why of course the Jewish! Thus the worthy Danish bishop, D. G. Monrad, named the Jewish nationality the royal one: Christ, he said, is sitting on the right of the Almighty, guiding the world, not only as son of God but also as son of man, not only with his divine but also with his human nature. If now the human nature—however pure it may be—retains an impress of its nationality, then the Jewish nationality takes part in the world-sovereignty, and thus all other nations owe homage to it.

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The Frailty of the Jesus Story

THIS argument cannot be disputed by any orthodox Christian. But he finds other grounds for his hatred in the tradition that the Jews brought Jesus before the Roman tribunal and thus caused his condemnation and death. It is not necessary to refute this argument with the fact that all nations have accorded ill-treatment to their great men. Today no one holds a Greek in contempt because the ancient Greeks sent Socrates to his death by administering poison,—nor a Roman because the Romans murdered Cæsar, the greatest man of ancient Rome. No one today despises a Frenchman because the University of Paris unanimously adopted the resolution that Joan of Arc was to burn as a witch,—nor an Italian because the Italian clergy sent such men as Savonarola and Giordano Bruno to their death by fire,—nor a Czech because the Bohemians murdered John Hus.

But it is hardly necessary to resort to this argument, nothing being more uncertain than the execution of Jesus and the responsibility of the single Jew therefor in raising the accusation. Neither in Jewish nor in Greco-Roman literature has there been found any weighty testimony on this point. All the arguments of previous days (for instance, the passage from Josephus) are demonstrable falsifications, nor should the Jews fail to take advantage of the profound and instructive works of Mr. Arthur Drews and Mr. John M. Robertson dealing with the existence of a mythical Jesus long before the evangelical Jesus was created.

It is indisputable that the tale in the Second Isaiah of the suffering of the Righteous One is meant as an allegory for the Jewish people, not for a single person,—nevertheless the evangelical Jesus has been built up on these fundamentals. Whether a historic Jesus ever existed is by the nature of the case impossible to decide, but this much is certain: the history of the Passion is a mere literary fabrication, influenced as it is by the psalmists, especially by Psalm 22 and also Psalm 109, which are to be adopted as prophecies about events postulated to have happened. The evangelic Jesus dies with a quotation on his lips,—the second verse of Psalm 22: "My God, my God, why hast Thou abandoned me!" There is a probability that this exclamation was framed a long time afterward on the model of the Psalm. Usually only pedants (or criminals—like Nero) die with a quotation on their lips.

Religion As a Unifying Force

WITHIN the Christian world religion has lost all its power or capacity for uniting the nations. For four years we have seen Christian nations warring against each other most bitterly, the leading antagonists,

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England and Germany, both being Protestant powers and not even for one moment remembering their common creed.

Within the Mohammedan world it is otherwise. National differences between Egyptians, Tunesians, Tripolitans, Algerians, Moroccans and Indians do not count, so long as they are all Mohammedans. Through a common sympathy and a common religion they are allied against Christian Europe, even though they obediently joined the war commanded by their Christian rulers.

With the Jews of antiquity religion was the same cementing force; they looked upon religion as their essence, their vitality, their intrinsic treasure.

During the centuries that have elapsed since Israel and Judah constituted two small kingdoms, the Israelites have been scattered over the surface of the earth, composing greater or smaller religious communities. In the Europe of later days Judaism was everywhere interpreted as religion. When the Jews themselves, from the abyss of degradation in which they were buried, petitioned the French National Convention in October, 1789,—they asked only for tolerance and compassion, and limited their claims to a request for admission to the rights of citizenship. And they were the first Jews in Europe who obtained these rights.

Anti-Semitism—A Compound of Hypocrisy and Nonsense

THE hatred against the Jews, never extinct, rose again with renewed energy in the years 1876-80 in Germany, provoked by the fact that certain Jews had enriched themselves after the war of 1870-71. This hatred was given a new name no longer aiming at religion but at extraction: the name of anti-Semitism. An anti-Semitic league was founded and an anti-Semitic group was formed in Parliament.

This designation is a cloak not only for hypocrisy but for sheer nonsense. The findings of science as to the supposed ancestry of European peoples are all dubious and contradictory. A scientific hypothesis was needed to establish the connection between various languages, and a myth was created about a mysterious people, the Aryans, which in its wanderings across the earth bred the various European nations. Modern philology is now foremost in rejecting the nonsense of an Aryan race. A family of Aryan languages is known to us, but race and language should not be confused. The Latin language conquered Gaul, but the Gauls did not turn Romans on that account. Max Müller has very strikingly said: "He who speaks of the Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair makes the same mistake as he who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary, or a brachycephalic grammar."

More than once it has been proved that the Jews do not constitute

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a "race," so named by persons who ignore the fact that modern science rejects this term. An entire Tartaric tribe, the Khasars, were converted to Judaism about the year 760, and preserved their existence as a people until the year 1016. It is of course impossible to estimate the numbers of west Europeans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, etc., in antiquity and the early medieval period, who adopted the religion of the Jews. The dogma of the Trinity then being preached scared many away from Christianity, and made them join the ranks of Judaism.

The Vainglory of Pride of Ancestry

IF mankind were able to think clearly, this everlasting nonsense about extraction would come to an abrupt end. The fact that every human being has two parents, each of whom in turn had two others, would indicate to all appearances that everyone is descended from billions of ancestors. According to the calculation of H. G. Wells, forty generations gives us nearly two billion ancestors, or to be accurate 1,900,000,000. Now imagine what the total would be for 4,000 generations! No savant doubts now that this number of generations is behind each one of us.

This immense number of ancestors is of course considerably restricted through repeated marrying within the same families, but the number is none the less enormous, and every pride of ancestry is thus a mere vanity, as the possibility of all being of the same tribe is extremely minute.

These incontrovertible facts are not considered, however, by one person in a hundred, and no matter how the question is answered, modern Judaism remains a reality. It is a striking inconsequence that the Jews are persistently regarded as a sect of foreigners dwelling in Europe. The presumption of this postulate becomes plain when we realize that no ideas have made such headway in Europe for nearly 2000 years, and in America ever since the discovery of the New World, as the Jewish-Christian ideas. Philosophy long ago declared that no influential relationship is possible between heterogeneous beings. The sole fact that an influence is exerted proves the reciprocal relation of the influencing and the influenced parts.

Representative European Minds That Were Jewish

RACHEL and Sarah Bernhardt have always been regarded as representing French dramatic art. Heinrich Heine is more read and better known outside of Germany than any other German poet. The German social democracy, more influential than any other in the world, was created by Ferdinand Lasalle and Karl Marx, both of whom were of Jewish

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origin. The ideas of Marx, moreover, have passed the German boundaries and have spread to all the laboring classes of Europe and America. If the laboring classes had regarded him as a foreigner they would not have taken to him so readily.

As the greatest Jew who ever lived we should remember Benedict Spinoza. It is the glory of Judaism that it produced him—its deepest shame that it ill-treated and expelled him. His philosophy forms a natural and huge link in the history of European philosophy.

In the 19th century there lived in England a Jew of high intelligence. His father, it is true, had introduced him to the Christian Church when he was a child, so as to remove an obstacle to his entering the Civil Service. But he devoted himself more earnestly than anyone else to the task of removing the prejudices of English society against his race. His chief passion was an ever-burning ambition, which ultimately brought him to the summit of political power. Since the mythical Joseph ruled Egypt as the powerful minister of Pharaoh, no one of Jewish extraction has been given so elevated a position as his. This man was Benjamin Disraeli.

At first he was opposed with the prejudice that having been born a Jew he was a pariah. England was ruled by aristocrats. He fought against this prejudice in his works with enthusiasm compounded with prudence.

The English Tribute to a "Lower Caste"

A PARIAH—but why? Was, then, this mixed population of Saxons and Normans, among whom he had first seen the light, of purer blood than he? Oh, no; he was descended in a direct line from one of the oldest races in the world, from that rigidly separate and unmixed Bedouin race who had developed a high civilization at a time when the inhabitants of England were going about half-naked and eating acorns in their woods. He was a thoroughbred; and yet, strange to say, they regarded his race as of lower caste, though they had adopted most of the laws and many of the customs which constituted the peculiarity of his caste in their Arabian home. They had appropriated all the religion and all the literature of his fathers. They had acknowledged this literature to be sacred, inspired by God himself, and this religion to be a revelation, which might be supplemented but could never be abolished. They divided their time by Jewish methods. They rested on the Sabbath in accordance with the Jewish law, and it was observed by them scarcely less literally or fanatically than in the ancient land of the tribe. They considered it to be a virtue, even a duty, to study continually the history of his ancestors, and taught it to their children before teaching them

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the history of their own country. Week by week they sang in their churches the hymns, laments, and praises of the Jewish poets; and finally they worshipped the son of a Jewish woman as their God. And yet they excluded with disdain from their society and their parliament, as if they were the offscouring of the earth, the tribe to which they owed their festivals, their psalms, their semi-civilization, their religion and their God.

The Asiatic tribe to which he belonged had, in an intellectual sense, conquered the whole of Europe and the quarters of the earth peopled by Europeans. Northern Europe worshipped the son of a Jewish mother, and gave him a place on the right hand of the Creator; Southern Europe worshipped besides, as Queen of Heaven, a Jewish maiden; this was all the difference between the two religious parties, who were one in contemning his people. He was proud of his descent from a tribe which though scattered, banished, martyred, plundered and humiliated for thousands of years by Egyptian Pharaohs, Assyrian kings, Roman emperors, Scandinavian crusaders, Gothic chiefs, and holy inquisitors, had still held their own, had kept their race pure, and remained to this day irrepressible, inexhaustible, indispensable, full of energy and genius.

The "Assimilationist" and the "Patriot"

OUR own time is not lacking in Jews of the ultra-modern type who would reproach Disraeli for regarding himself as an Englishman to at least the same degree that he felt himself the representative of Judaism. Certain persons gladly give the abusive name of assimilationist to everyone of Jewish origin who takes part in the intellectual and political activities of his native or adopted land. This sickly attempt to sow hatred against such men is based on the assumption that they feel their extraction as a disgrace and desire to conceal it. Such an accusation is ridiculous, especially as the men so accused are reproached with their origin by a thousand voices from the first step on the stage of life. Even if they sought to conceal their race it would be a hopeless task. The first word from their critics at every opportunity points out their Jewish origin.

As to Disraeli, this charge is particularly absurd. Even as Lord Beaconsfield he never disclaimed his race, the name of which was originally comprised in his own.

When in the 18th and 19th centuries the ideals of cosmopolitanism gained the ascendancy, the Jews who joined the rationalist movement (as, for example, the school of Mendelssohn in Germany) tended only to show their public spirit and patriotism, especially after civil rights had been accorded to them in the leading states. Their only aim was to con-

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duct themselves as other Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans, Swedes, etc., did on their native soil. Eventually, in the last decade of the 19th century, the medieval hatred against the Jews blazed out anew. The mysterious reason once given for the hatred against them, effective during the medieval ages and the Reformation, that they had killed the son of God, who was God himself, now gave way to the national hatred against them as a body of foreigners. Cosmopolitanism had yielded to overwrought patriotism.

The Rise of Zionism

THE Frenchmen, Germans, etc., of Jewish extraction—to whom this extraction had for a long time signified no more than Scotch or Irish blood signified to other Frenchmen and Germans—saw themselves suddenly treated with scorn and hatred, abused daily for their origin, and above all told that they were not as they believed themselves, Frenchmen, Germans, Poles, Russians, Swedes, Danes, etc., but merely Jews.

Very naturally the impulse flamed up at once to make this assumption true and to answer: "You are right. We no longer feel any patriotism common with yours. We have our own species of patriotism. We are like you, a people, a people much older, with a longer and more tragic history." And the desire was born to regain the country which in ancient times had been the home of the Israelitic tribes.

A feuilletonist of the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse*, who according to his own statement had never concerned himself with his extraction,* now called himself—thanks to seeing Stöcker, the arch anti-Semite, abusing German Jews—"a Jew by the grace of Stöcker." As Émile Augier phrased it in a play in which a journalist changed his opinions as a result of attacks on him: "Flogging gave him a conviction."

Theodor Herzl took up the idea which before him had occupied Moses Hess—the foundation of a Jewish state in Palestine.

The suppressed and martyred Jews of Eastern Europe soon paid homage to Theodor Herzl as a sort of Messiah. He worked with relentless energy and died comparatively young, but his ideas were destined to triumph.

The Danger of Claiming National Rights

A LARGE and powerful Zionist party was formed. The Zionists valued greatly the promise given them by an English minister that England

* See "The Menorah," by Theodor Herzl, first translated into English for THE MENORAH JOURNAL, December, 1915 (vol. I, pp. 261-264)—a confession of Herzl's awakening to the call of his people.

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viewed with great pleasure the founding of a home in Palestine for the Jews who had been dispersed for so many centuries.

For the present the Jews are in a minority in Palestine. The territory occupied by the English holds a total population of some 600,000 souls. Of these slightly over 500,000 are Mohammedans, about 65,000 are Jews, and 62,000 Christians. The Arabic population at first met the Jews most benevolently, and the Emir Feisal issued a manifesto in which he expressed sympathy—the Arabs' and his own. But later a strong Pan-Arabic movement arose, and both in the Arabic newspapers and in the municipal council of Jerusalem the idea of giving the Jewish people the control of Palestine has met with the most passionate resistance.

In Europe there is not a little disagreement between Zionists and non-Zionists. The latter are always branded as assimilationists by their opponents. The Zionists contend that the Jews form a people and should insist upon being treated as a separate people everywhere when they have settled down in sufficient numbers.

Neither in England, France, Germany, Italy nor Scandinavia can the Jews reasonably demand to be treated as a separate people. Instead of expanding their rights and their prestige such a demand would most probably cause their expulsion or their incarceration in some ghetto. Nor could a demand from the Jews of the United States that they be treated as a separate people be regarded in any other light than an absurdity. In Eastern Europe, where the demand has been amply justified, it has only augmented their sufferings.

Personally I feel that the Jews should defer proclaiming themselves a nation until they have really obtained possession of Palestine. It seems reasonable that a European Israelite should answer an unfriendly compatriot with the retort: "My home is not here but in Palestine"—but on this sole condition, that he make good his statement by his departure. It is an obvious contradiction to persist in this attachment to a foreign nationality and at the same time continue staying in the country where one has settled and was born. No wonder that the Zionists are asked: "When are you going away?" Even if favored by circumstances the little land of Palestine would not be able to support an indefinite number of Jews. In no manner would it be possible to send into the country more than 80,000 Jews yearly—and that represents just about the increase in the Russian Jewish population every year.

The number of Jews living out of Palestine will most probably continue to be at least the same as now. I am inclined to the belief that they are likely to lower their status, especially in America, if they cease to regard themselves merely as adherents to a religion and demand to be treated as a separate nation.

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"The Most Intelligent of All the Peoples of the Earth"

ALL of which is by no means to deny that the establishment of a Jewish political community in Palestine—with the good-will of the British and the Arabs—will in a high degree fortify the position of the Jews throughout the world. I maintain that the Jews are the most intelligent of all the peoples of the earth, and their union is certain to augment their intelligence.

Modern Jews, it is true, do not form a people in the same sense as the Spaniards, Portuguese, Danes or Swedes. They have no common language, perhaps the most important characteristic of a people. The Israelites of Palestine claim the Hebrew language as their national tongue, and are erecting a Hebrew University. The Jews of Eastern Europe insist that the Jewish-German dialect called Yiddish is to be regarded as the true national language. The Jews of Greece and Turkey, being of Spanish extraction, have still another dialect known as Ladino.

Through the colonization of Palestine no doubt all these differences of religion, language and politics will flame out in a violent polemic. But in every existing country party stands against party, and probably no people will ever surpass in intelligence the people which in time to come will be assembled in Palestine.

Georg Brandes

"A PROGRAM for the Reconstruction of Judaism," by Mordecai M. Kaplan, professor in the Jewish Theological Seminary, and an acknowledged leader in the progressive wing of Orthodox Judaism, will appear in an early issue of THE MENORAH JOURNAL.

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Americanization and Race Fusion

By Julius Drachsler

An earlier article by Dr. Drachsler, on "The Blending of Immigrant Cultures," appeared in the last issue of The Menorah Journal *(April). Dr. Drachsler is Assistant Professor of Economics and Sociology in Smith College, and the author of a forthcoming book on "Democracy and Assimilation."*

AMERICANIZATION, as currently conceived, is still too much of a one-sided process. It assumes too often that the immigrant is to take rather than to give, to shed his own personality rather than to adapt the finer qualities of American life to himself and thus grow in the direction of his true self. It encourages imitation rather than originality. In thus putting a premium upon self-effacement, it diminishes the possibilities of self-expression on the part of the talented among the immigrant groups, or rather shunts them off into already existing well-marked channels.

It thus opposes the free interaction and cross fertilization of many cultures. In doing this, it sets itself against the most hopeful currents of contemporary American life. Among these promising streams there is none that reaches such depths of the national life as the reinterpretation of the concept of democracy in the light of contemporary experience. Between the deeper implications of this term and the common notion of Americanization there is an almost unbridgeable gulf. For the central idea of one negates the central idea of the other. The latter, striving to create a homogeneous people by a process which cannot but produce superficial similarities only and the illusion of unity, ignores the claims of individuality. The former, seeking to find ever deeper bases of agreement among men and among social groups, discovers in the recognition of individuality the sure foundation of social harmony.

The Prized Traits of Democracy

CURIOUSLY enough, the popular imagination comes nearer to seizing the kernel in the concept of democracy than many a learned and labored analysis of it. To the American mind, for instance, Abraham Lincoln is the embodiment of democratic personality. His freedom in mingling with men of all sorts, his simplicity, almost crudity of manners, his surpassing warmth and human sympathy, his just treatment of high and low alike, are the qualities of his character on which the people's fancy loves to linger. Why these traits are prized rather than others

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and why they should be used as a sort of measure by which to determine the degree of a person's democratic attitude, is generally not clearly conscious in the minds of the people. It requires, however, only a simple analysis to determine what is the basis of their unconscious judgment. What is freedom of intercourse but accessibility of person—a lack of that aloofness which is prone to be interpreted by those who are shunned as a slighting of their personality or as a sign that they are considered inferior and unworthy to be associated with? What is simplicity of behavior and dress but a sort of protest against artificial reinforcements of individuality, a disdain for pretense and sham, a desire to let personality count on its own merit? What is warmth and human sympathy but proof of a capacity for putting one's self into another person's position and of giving to the person's experiences the emotional valuation that he himself places upon them? What is just treatment of high and low alike, but an insistence upon judging the individual on the merits of his case rather than being swayed by the prestige and power of a privileged person?

The roots of the craving for democracy are thus imbedded in the instinctive impulse of self-assertion and of the desire for recognition. To be democratic means to respect the claims of another's individuality, while at the same time insisting that one's own claims be recognized. These claims must not be fictitious or artificially reinforced by inherited status or privilege, but must be intrinsic. Based upon this concept, a democratic society is one in which social relations are such as to permit individuality to voice its claims and to control the means through which these may be satisfied. Freedom of speech and of assembly, free access to life opportunities in commerce, trade and the professions, freedom to prepare for the proper use of these opportunities through education, thus become the corner-stones in the edifice of democracy.

The Individualism of Political and Industrial Democracy

HISTORICALLY, the democratic movement exhibits the same characteristics. Political democracy, with its ideals of universal suffrage and of representative government responsive to the will of the people, is the attempt to secure recognition of the individual in the sphere of government. It enthrones the individual judgment in matters of politics. "One man, one vote, and the majority wins" is its rule of conduct. To be sure, in their zeal, the advocates of democracy have placed too much faith in the value of the judgment of the citizen in so far as they considered him capable of deciding rightly on every question in the sphere of government, from broad matters of general policy to minute technicalities of administration. In the main, however, the current has been in the direc-

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tion of liberating men's minds from the tradition of political incapacity and of the exclusive privilege of government supposed to be lodged only in the hands of a selected few.

The more recent movement for industrial democracy, also, is very largely individualistic in its aims. Its objective is the just distribution of wealth among those who produce it. Combinations of labor and radical political parties, such as the socialist parties, though coöperative in their methods of propaganda and of attack, are yet essentially emphasizing the claims of the individual worker in the economic struggle. The united working class is merely a temporary instrument for the overthrow of an iniquitous social order. After victory has been achieved and the social revolution successfully accomplished, classes will disappear and with them also the working class. The individual, free and untrammelled, will emerge as the highest achievement of the class struggle.

While political democracy has very nearly reached its zenith in the modern world, the movement for industrial democracy is just beginning to gather momentum.

The Group Ideal in Cultural Democracy

IN the meantime, there have been clear signs of the rise of another significant phase of the democratic movement. It is the insistence upon the recognition of the claims of cultural group-individuality. Language, literature, history, characteristic folkways and customs, all those culture products that together make up nationality in the modern sense of the word, are the constituent elements of this group-personality. Its free unfolding and conservation are the aim of the movement for cultural democracy. No more striking examples of its elemental force can be given than the rise of the suppressed nationalities during the great European War. Poles, Bohemians, Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs, Armenians, Jews, fought for the recognition of their cultural group-individuality. In two respects, however, this last phase of the democratic movement differs from the first two. It urges the claims not primarily of the individual, but rather of the group as a whole. It stresses recognition of the group as an organic unit. Moreover, the interests championed are immaterial rather than material, as is the case in political and industrial democracy. It is rather spiritual or ideal values that the group wishes to conserve.

While in every case of a struggle for cultural democracy there has been a large admixture of political elements, as for example in the instances of the nationalities of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, the distinguishing feature has always been the controversy that raged about the retention or suppression of those cultural values which the groups prized most highly.

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The "Dangers" Urged Against Cultural Democracy

IN America, these political ingredients are happily absent altogether. To speak of cultural democracy here means something nearer to the unalloyed sense of the phrase. It is absurd to think of the creation of separate political nationalities out of the immigrant groups in the United States. Apart from the utter artificiality and needlessness of such a scheme, there is not a sufficient basis for it in either size or geographic compactness of the various ethnic groups that could form effective nationalities. If cultural democracy is to have any meaning at all, it must mean the recognition of the value for American life of the cultural heritages of the immigrant groups and of freedom to foster and conserve some of these values through voluntary communal organization.

But, it may be urged, to recognize the claims of such cultural democracy is to plant the seeds for the growth of separate groups and possibly for the development eventually of political nationalities; in any event, to set in operation forces that make for heterogeneity rather than for homogeneity, for disharmony rather than for unity.

To conceive of the problem in this fashion is to underestimate profoundly the efficacy of the unifying forces of contemporary American life. This is clear even if one judges solely from the data on intermarriage. If, as is highly probable, the rate of intermarriage increases with the advancing generations and if the largest proportion of the fusion takes place in the mediocre rather than the higher culture levels, it would seem to be the duty of those immigrant groups that are in the process of dissolution to foster an intelligent cultural community consciousness, so that when fusion does take place each group will have something to contribute to the newly created community.

But there are still more deeply rooted misconceptions that prompt the fear of heterogeneity and the desire, therefore, to efface as thoroughly and as quickly as possible the variegated cultural backgrounds of the immigrant peoples. The first of these misconceptions centers around the nature and place of individuality in social life; the other deals with the process of assimilation itself.

The Virtues of Cultivating "Differences"

INDIVIDUALITY, in the sense of a unique, distinctive combination of physical and mental traits, once formed as the result of the interaction of the individual's inherited nature and his social environment, tends to persist in its characteristic activity in spite of all obstacles. The same is true of group individuality, such as that of a nation, formed by the unified influences of geographic environment, racial traits, and historical devel-

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opment. Long periods of isolation, together with the sanction of tradition, tend further to fix this individuality. When balked or blocked in its expression, it is prone to become irritated and to resent interference. Much the same feeling of irritation is experienced when one is confronted with a new and different individuality. It is to the unpleasantness involved in a change of habit life that the "passion for homogeneity" and its emotional derivative, the spirit of intolerance, can be traced.

But equally as strong as the craving for the old is the craving for the new. This has its roots in the instinct of curiosity. And because mental preferences or ideals, within very broad limits, can be taught both to individuals and to nations, it is not illusory to think that, just as the passion for uniformity is very largely a socially induced and socially cultivated attitude of mind, so a passion for uniqueness or differentness can be developed as an antidote or perhaps as a complement to the former. For one need only remember a fact too often ignored by educators in their practical efforts to develop the true individuality of their pupils, namely, that differences between individuals and between groups are as inherent and as common as similarities; and since in the nature of things these differences are to be expected, it is necessary to accustom the growing mind to the fact of differentness.

But this alone would result in little more than a sort of negative adaptation. It is necessary to direct the instinct of curiosity and to convert it into an active search for the new and the unique, thus fostering not only tolerance but developing a "passion" for uniqueness and distinctiveness. For America ruthlessly to trample out significant and valuable differences merely because they are differences, would mean that it failed to utilize the great stimulus the immigrant cultural heritages offer it, not only to develop a broad spirit of tolerance, but to accustom the minds of the growing generations to the newer concept of social harmony rather than feeding their imaginations exclusively on the beauties and the profits of social uniformity.

The Psychology of Assimilation

STILL less impatient would the native-born American of the old stock be with the cultural heritage of the immigrant if he knew more clearly what happens in the mind of the new settler in the process of assimilation. The immigrant begins his life in the new environment by wearing different clothes, eating different foods, living under different housing conditions, working under different labor conditions, using different conveyances for travel and learning a different language. The superficial habits acquired in the old world milieu are sloughed off. The outer shell changes. He merges his habit self in the habit life of the new community. Soon

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he awakens with a rude jolt to the realization that he is outwardly a different being. And having adopted different habits, he supposes there must be some good reason for having done so. For is he not in the habit of reasoning about himself and his acts?

In other words, after having unconsciously slipped into the new habit life, he begins to justify his acceptance of it. He begins to rationalize it. He finds he has developed a preference for his new habit life. It is here that the danger in the process of assimilation lurks. With the shedding of superficial traits has come imperceptibly a change in some deeper habits of thought and of action. It may be that, plunged from a comparatively simple, undifferentiated economic environment into one that is highly complex and competitive, there has been developed the preference for a different type of intelligence, the materialistic, the individualistic or the exploiting types as contrasted with the coöperative type. With this may have come a cynical disregard of the finer, less "practical" values of life, which in a more tranquil and less dynamic environment he had come to prize for their own sake. The danger is not so much that he finds himself in a new frame of mind, as that he tends to justify it at all costs.

That there is much in American life which, after having been imitated by the eager immigrant, is hardly justifiable or "rationalizable," cannot be denied. There is only one way to prevent him from rationalizing habits and values not worth while. It is so to reconstruct the life of the community into which the immigrant comes as a stranger, that he will acquire only such habits as are worthy of rationalization. But this requires in most instances a radical remaking of the structure of community life. It means more progressive education, more wholesome recreation, more liberal and more honest politics, more sanitary housing, and more equitable industrial relations. The immigrant, in this sense, becomes a perennial challenge to the ethically minded native, compelling him to ask himself soul-searching questions about the inner and the outer life of America. To deprive the immigrant and his children, then, of some of the ideal values derived from their cultural tradition is to rob them of the very standard or mental yardstick by which he may test the values he finds himself accepting uncritically; in other words, to place a premium upon blind conformity to prevailing modes of thought and of action.

Enlarging Our Concept of Democracy

IT is, then, highly pertinent to ask if the time has not come for America to expand its traditional concept of democracy to include cultural, together with political and industrial, democracy. Remembering the conditions of ethnic fusion existing among the various immigrant groups, the advocate of social and cultural homogeneity might be tempted to give

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his grudging assent to this modification of a time-honored social ideal. For, he might argue, the cultural autonomy which he fears might result if each immigrant group were encouraged to conserve its cultural heritage, will at best be temporary. The communal organizations developed among them for this purpose will vanish with the advent of the new assimilated generations. Intermarriage among the ethnic groups, irresistible in its forward sweep, will effectually fuse the different groups and thus of necessity produce a new cultural heritage.

But what about groups that either cannot or will not intermarry, as for instance, the Jews, the Negroes, etc., or at any rate intermarry to such a slight extent that fusion in their case is for practical purposes non-existent? Enforced miscegenation is, of course, out of the question. But even if racial homogeneity were a desirable national ideal, it is extremely doubtful if it can even be achieved completely. Thus far the fusion of the various white ethnic stocks does not seem to have produced a real blend.[1] The coexistence of racial varieties with a strong spirit of national unity in France, Switzerland, Italy and even Germany would tend to prove that racial homogeneity is not an absolute essential of national unity.

America's Unique Opportunity—A Fusion of Rich Heritages

IF, then, racial homogeneity is not to be considered the *summum bonum* of national development, then failure to fuse biologically need not be regarded as running counter to the democratic ideal. The concept of democracy must, therefore, be further expanded to include ethnic stocks which, though mentally and morally adjusted, nevertheless remain biologically more or less distinct. Whether in any specific case it would have been more advantageous for the group to have fused or to have remained intact, is as impossible to ascertain as it is profitless to speculate upon. For if the group disappears there is no way of telling what

[1] See "Study of Old Americans," by Dr. Ales Hrdlička, curator of physical anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution, *Journal of Heredity*, VI, page 509, Nov., 1914. Also "The Old White Americans" in the *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Americanists*, Washington, 1917. "One of the main objects of his study was to determine whether the descendants of the early American settlers, living in a new environment, and more or less constantly intermarrying, were being amalgamated into a distinct sub-type of the white race. Enough has already been found, as this preliminary report shows, to prove that such amalgamation has not taken place to any important degree. The persistence in heredity of certain features, which run down even through six or eight generations, is one of the remarkable results brought out by the study. If the process could continue for a few hundred years, Dr. Hrdlička thinks, it might reach a point where one could speak of the members of old American families as of a distinct stock. But so far this point has not been reached; the Americans are almost as diverse and variable, it appears, as were their first ancestors in this country." From "The Melting Pot a Myth," *Journal of Heredity*, March 1917, pp. 104-105.

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it might have contributed if it had not fused. And similarly, if the group had kept intact, there is no means of finding out what its contribution would have been if it had fused.

America, with her unique experience of multiform contacts of races and peoples, is in a position to invest the concept of democracy with a broader and richer meaning than any nation has thus far done. She can, if she will, set to work to mold her future civilization consciously and utilize to the full the numberless heritages brought to her shores. She can, if she will, develop the principle of tolerance as no people has yet dared to do. She can, if she will, encourage the search for the unique and the distinctive in social life, side by side with a strong emphasis upon the basically human interests. She can, if she will, make of herself the greatest democratic republic in the history of man.

Julius Drachsler

THE MENORAH JOURNAL *takes pleasure in announcing that in an early issue it will have the privilege of publishing the Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture for this year, which was given by Dr. Israel Abrahams, the distinguished Jewish scholar and littérateur of Cambridge (England), under the Chairmanship of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. Dr. Abrahams—Israel Zangwill writes us —"delivered a most brilliant lecture on 'Religion and Poetry'."*

Readers of THE MENORAH JOURNAL *will recall the two notable lectures already delivered on the Arthur Davis Fund, which were published in previous numbers: the first, by Mr. Zangwill, on "Chosen Peoples," and the second by R. Travers Herford on "What the World Owes to the Pharisees."*

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San Remo

By Martin Feinstein

THIS is the word we waited long to hear,
Hurried upon the lips of living men,
Bright as a sword against the bones of Fear.

"The doors of my house are open, the table is set
For the guest of my heart, my beloved; come, enter again,
The labor is over, and Master and Servant are met.

Unloose the latchets of his bleeding feet,
Bind up the blotches of his battered head,
Stay him with flagons and with things to eat.

This is my Son, now wandered home at last,
Home from the hill of pity and the dead,
Until the dream of Golgotha is passed.

Lift up your head, beloved, open your eyes,
Turn from the pain of your torn and shattered hands,
Turn from the night to the light of the dawn in the skies.

Unloose the latchets of his bleeding feet,
Bind them with healing leaves and fragrant bands,
Stay him with flagons and with things to eat."

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The Passing of the "Shtadlan"

By Johan J. Smertenko

Intercollegiate Menorah Prize Essay

JOHAN J. SMERTENKO (born in Russia), completed his course at the University of Wisconsin last year, and is now Director of Publicity and Instructor in Journalism at Grinnell College, Iowa. Articles from his pen have appeared in The Nation, The Grinnell Review, and other periodicals. The present essay won the Menorah Prize at the University of Wisconsin last year and was awarded the Intercollegiate Menorah Medal for the best prize essay of the year (1918-19).

THE American Jewish Congress, conceived in the spirit of democracy, was primarily an attempt to answer the cry for spiritual guidance and material help which was uttered by the Jews of Europe at the outbreak of the war. Its real significance, however, lies in the fact that it is the final step in the emancipation of the American Jews from medievalism and in the adoption of the ideals of Americanism in Jewish life; in that it marks the passing of "benevolent feudalism" and the beginning of an era of democracy in American Jewry.

That the American Jewish Congress is hailed as the democratic revolution in Jewish life, the great achievement of the Jew in exile, is due to the decision to renounce a policy motivated by fear and guided by the slave's principle that it is best to lie low and say nothing offensive to the benevolent master, and to supplant that policy by a dignified program expressing the needs and demands of the self-governing Jewish people. It embodies the decision of the Jews of America to present openly to the nations of the world a constructive program which the Jewish people are prepared to support with all the strength they can command, instead of following the back-stairs method of the "Shtadlan" of the Middle Ages and the Russian Ghetto, who asks for relief, not redress; for palliation, not prevention; for charity, not justice.

The Shtadlan—A "Friend at Court"

THE "Shtadlan" or go-between, who has finally been discarded in free America, was an indispensable member of the Jewish community in the Middle Ages or in pre-Revolutionary Russia. This "friend at court" was generally a wealthy Jew, sometimes a renowned physician, sometimes a confidential adviser, and on several occasions, most notably in the cases of Casimir III of Poland and Pope John XXIII, a Jewish wife or mis-

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tress,—in short, any one possessing influence with the Gentile oppressor and able to win his ear. By virtue of this position the Shtadlan was the only guardian of the Jewish community, for he alone could secure protection from massacres and other forms of persecution by climbing back stairs and purchasing safety or protection.

What was more natural and inevitable than that this person should become the "boss" of the Jewish community and should control its policy as well as its destiny? He became, in fact, a Jewish feudal chief—benevolent and interested in the welfare of the community, to be sure, but demanding that it obey his decisions and honor his importance. It was due to these external circumstances that the Jews abandoned their own traditions of democracy, inherited from their fathers and always present in the chronicles of the Hebrew Commonwealth, and tolerated a state of benevolent feudalism in the Ghetto. What is more, no one dared question the self-appointed chieftain, for he was more than the savior of the community. Through him spoke the all-powerful and unscrupulous potentate.

This condition was introduced into America by the very earliest settlers,—which is not at all surprising. The relation of the Jew of the Middle Ages and the Russian Jew of the Pale to the surrounding Gentile civilization is strikingly similar to the situation existing when immigrant groups settle in a country whose institutions are totally different from their own. The immigrant, too, needs the Shtadlan to mediate between him and his new environment, to establish the connections necessary for his existence, and to help him eliminate the differences due to his ignorance of the existing customs, institutions, and ideals. And the Jew, as alien to the country whence he came as to his new home, was more than any other immigrant in need of a mediator.

The First Shtadlanim in America—the Sephardim

THE first European Jews coming from Spain and Portugal to the United States in the middle of the 17th century found that large and influential Jewish groups, composed of fugitives from the Portuguese persecutions in Brazil, were already established in New York and Newport. The newcomers were welcomed by their co-religionists and the rôle of Shtadlan was played by Aaron Lopez in Newport and by Haym Salomon in New York.

These early settlers, learned and prosperous, soon spread to Pennsylvania, Georgia and the Carolinas, and were able to establish a definite position in the colonies in spite of the religious intolerance of the time. Before long, social as well as commercial ties bound them to the other colonists, and though intermarriages were not infrequent the rigorous

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religious discipline enabled the community to retain its distinctive Jewish character. During the course of the Revolutionary War, however, they proved their claim as Americans, for with the exception of one Tory family in Philadelphia, they served the American cause in the field and the council chamber, and in addition to furnishing their quota of men, contributed very significantly in money.

After repeating their patriotic services in the War of 1812, the Sephardim, as they were later called, had an unquestioned place as Americans which they guarded very jealously. A quarter of a century later, when the German Jews began to immigrate in large numbers, they insisted on a class line as uncompromising as that drawn against themselves by Gentiles in the early days of their settlement. They insisted that the old and the new Jewish settlers had nothing in common but religion and the remote unity of stock. This, however, did not prevent them from exploiting the German Jews as their employees and servants and thus acting as the Shtadlanim for the unassimilated and rapidly increasing numbers of their co-religionists.

The Ascendancy of the German Jew

IN 1860 the original Sephardic communities were vastly out-numbered by the German immigrants, many of whom were wealthy and anxious to attain the social status of their Shtadlanim. But in addition to the class line established by the early Jewish settlers, the differences in origin and sect made this rivalry unwelcome to the Sephardim. Under these conditions arose a community warfare in which the German Jews had all the advantage which numbers could give. The result was the extinction of practically all the American Sephardic communities which fought the class war to the end, while those which followed the policy of New York and Philadelphia in recognizing the equality of the German Jews and assimilating them, instead of being assimilated by them, retained the power and distinction which was theirs before the "invasion."

This victory for the Jewish immigrant from Germany not only identified him with his more illustrious co-religionist but was direct proof that after a generation in America he had become as fully Americanized as the original Sephardic Jew.

The material prosperity and social assimilation resulted in the Reform movement in the Synagogue. This put the stamp of approval on the practise of abolishing the distinguishing characteristics of Jewish community life. The movement raised to the dignity of a doctrine the inevitable changes in the way of living. Among other things, this greater freedom changed the function of the rabbi from an arbitrator in all matters of Jewish daily life to that of a teacher and preacher of dogma.

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The Russian Immigrant Accepts the German as Shtadlan

JUST as these steps in "Americanization" were being completed the first wave of the flood of Jewish immigration from Russia reached the Eastern seaboard. The new type of immigrant was a foreigner to everything American. In the land of his birth he had had neither the rights nor the duties of a citizen. Government was to him an organized system of persecution; a Gentile, in his eyes, was a likely oppressor. He needed an interpreter of the American order of life; he needed a mediator between him and his Gentile neighbor. In the rich and influential German Jew the immigrant found a God-sent Shtadlan. He joyfully accepted the medieval relationship between the feudal chief of the Ghetto and himself. He welcomed the leader and spokesman as a go-between.

And the German Jew for reasons best known to a social-psychologist cheerfully assumed the responsibility of leadership and reintroduced in free America an era of benevolent feudalism. His attitude toward the immigrant was the repetition of the relations between the Sephardim and the Jewish immigrant from Germany. He looked after the needs of the Russian Jews, he gave them employment, he spoke for them in public and he despised them in private. To prevent them from becoming public burdens he organized philanthropic institutions which have been models for the scientific charity organizations of this country. He packed them into the sweat shops and kept them on starvation wages which, in case of need, were supplemented by donations from his much-lauded "charities."

The German Jews, then, like the Sephardim, considered the immigrants good enough to be exploited economically and ruled politically but unfit for any other social or cultural relations. The Russian Jews found that it was impossible to become members of the German-Jewish Synagogue, fraternal order, or social club. They found a religious difference between their Orthodox Judaism and the Reform Judaism far greater than was the sectarian difference between the original Sephardim and the German Ashkenazim brand of reform. But the broken-spirited Russian Jews accepted this relationship with gratitude. They considered it as part of their new and strange environment and therefore natural and inevitable. They cheerfully delegated all the communal power to their assimilated co-religionists who were at home in America, while they were completely engrossed in the problems of earning a living and learning to understand American life.

The Russian Immigrant Attains Independence

AFTER the first generation, however, wealth, education and culture became the property of a great number of the Russian Jews, thus destroying the monopoly which the Shtadlanim might have thought right-

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fully theirs. Moreover, a generation of contact with American institutions and conceptions—whatever the amount of contact in such an America as the Ghetto of New York City could be—made for the realization of his political and civic responsibility by the newcomer. He was no longer the employee and dependent of the German Jew but his economic rival and political equal. Due to his hatred of injustice and his natural initiative, he became the leader of the trade union movement and thus showed his Shtadlan employer that he considered the period of feudal subjection at an end. But this prosperity and independence of the Russian Jews were not considered as qualifying them for the social position of the earlier settlers, and the class war between them was more intense than it had been between the Sephardim and the German Ashkenazim.

Now the newcomers began to vie with the German Jews for the position of Shtadlan to the ever increasing number of fresh immigrants. They organized their own fraternal orders and social clubs; they formed "orthodox" charities; they began "reforming" their own synagogues. At first the older community resented and resisted this encroachment, but it soon found itself in the position of the Sephardim of 1848. It was a choice between assimilating the wealthy Russian Jews or being assimilated by them. Due to the common interests which formed an unconscious influence, the former course was pursued. The parvenus were made members of the Reform congregations and were given places on the charity boards.

Thus the first Russian Jewish immigrants were soon "Germanized"; their sons on becoming professional men began to be accepted as eligible husbands for the German girls; their capital was combined with the money of the German Jews for common enterprises. What is more important, the greater numbers of the Russians soon caused a reversal of the process of assimilation, and the German Jews, with the exception of their own "upper class," began to adopt the *modus vivendi* of the newcomers.

The Separate Forces of Zionism and Socialism

BUT another class was coming to a consciousness of its own power. It was the proletarian class formed by the later immigrants from Russia and Galicia. They made no attempt to break through the class lines of the Shtadlanim, but ignored them and sought their own development in two movements propagated by the most intellectual of the immigrant classes. Socialism was the theory which they adopted as laboring men and by means of Socialism they sought their material advancement. The other movement was Zionism with a similar, although restricted, economic program, and a far wider international outlook which looks upon society as "a great family of nationalities carrying on the enter-

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prise of civilization coöperatively, each contributing to the others according to its nature and power." Zionism, with its appeal to the ideals and traditions of the Jews, awakened the national consciousness of the masses and in common with Socialism established definite democratic principles of procedure which supplemented their education by the political institutions of our country.

This self-consciousness and program were acquired by the masses unconsciously. These potentialities, however, needed but the occasion to bring them to the surface.

Neither the American Jewish capitalists nor the non-Jewish population paid much attention to the masses. The Gentile world had also become accustomed to dealing with the Jews through the medium of the Shtadlan and when it desired to have Jews represented in public affairs, these unrepresentative and self-constituted leaders were chosen. Thus a leading member of a fraternal order of the German-Americanized Jewry acted for more than thirty years as a sort of Jewish Ambassador at Washington. He informed the United States Government as to what in his opinion was wanted and what was opposed by the Jews of our country. And he chose to view the Jews not as a nationality but as a religious sect, and accordingly this was the point of view of our government. It is not surprising, therefore, that thousands of Jews grew utterly indifferent to the program which the government was carrying out in accord with the advice of the Shtadlanim, and felt compelled to establish their own institutions giving expression to their aspirations; and that a feeling of bitterness and estrangement against the self-appointed leaders displaced the gratitude of the first generation of Russian immigrants for the benevolent feudalism of the early settlers.

The American Jewish Committee is Formed

BUT the rule of the Shtadlan above referred to and his colleagues came to an end in 1905-6. This was the time of the pogroms in Russia and the time when the traditional leaders found themselves unable to cope with the problem of relief without asking the coöperation of the entire Jewish community. Thus the despised and hitherto disregarded group was asked to help. And help it did beyond all expectation. However, when the establishment of a permanent agency of relief and construction, which should be able to meet every crisis in eastern Europe, was considered, the great Jewish masses were again ignored.

But a new and more powerful group, which was regarded with a great deal of favor by the immigrant communities, arose in this crisis and took over the work of the Shtadlan. It was composed of men who were "renowned for good works, for generosity, and a genuine concern for

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the welfare and Americanism of their fellow Jews." But they were of the same class and represented the same policies as their predecessors. Five of the leading Jews of America took the initiative. They selected twenty-five additional members who, in turn, named forty-five other men. This group decided that there was no need of a more democratic organization, since it was not the seat of authority but the intentions of the committee that were of importance. They organized, adopted a constitution, and were incorporated as the American Jewish Committee.

From the time of the Russian pogroms in 1905 to March 27, 1916, the American Jewish Committee acted as the Jewish Ministry for Foreign and Domestic Affairs. From the time of its founding, when it was at the height of its popularity, it has acted, with an inexplicable perversity, in almost every critical situation in Jewish life in a manner contrary to the desires of the Jewish masses. In consequence, at the time of its downfall it had estranged the people from any personal interest in what it was doing and had won for itself the hearty dislike of all but the Reform Jews.

The Undemocratic Character of the Committee

MUCH of this was due to the undemocratic conceptions and methods of the American Jewish Committee. It made no attempt to hear the voice of the people it had chosen to represent and declined to consider any democratic way of electing its membership. It met in secret and took no means to enlarge its sphere of interest. It distrusted the ability of the "populace" for self-government and had no confidence in the judgment of the masses of the Jewish people. It ignored the ideals and aspirations of the great body of American Jewry and treated with disdain and contempt the utterances and demands of the Jewish press. It had very definite opinions on nationality, progress, language, and taste and it expected the American Jews to conform to these opinions. In short, like all autocracy, it not only insisted on doing what it pleased, but demanded that the people do what pleased the American Jewish Committee.

These and other characteristics of intrenched aristocracy were a distinct burden to the bulk of American Jewry. They retarded the development and Americanization of the masses and would have produced a servile, patronage-seeking and inactive people, had they prevailed.

But there were forces which were more powerful than the American Jewish Committee. Most important was the fact that the position of the Committee was obnoxious to the spirit of America and the spirit of the times. No American youth, educated in our institutions, whose mind is imbued with the principles of freedom and democracy inherent in every phase of our social life, could submit to this autocratic government.

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The second force was created by the American Jewish Committee itself. In persistently refusing to recognize the great number of Jewish immigrants from Russia and Austria-Hungary it was building its own funeral pyre and very soon the sparks which were finally to cause its destruction began to fall dangerously near. The east European Jew needed very little time to learn the value of democracy with the American institutions before his eyes, and the memories of oppression of autocratic rulers still painfully vivid. And his respect for this democracy as well as his newly-found self-respect could not tolerate an institution which made plans for the improvement of his conditions without consulting him; which ignored his desires and his true leaders; and which was determined to lead him to water and make him drink. In short, American Jewry was aware that the period of the Shtadlan had passed.

Zionists, Socialists, and Orthodox Jews cried out against the self-appointed and mis-representative leader. The Yiddish press, now fully as powerful as the Anglo-Jewish papers which were still undecided on the stand they should take, directed the attention of its million readers to the bureaucratic mismanagement of the American Jewish Committee. The batteries were using real shot and the influence and prestige of this medieval institution were reduced to the point where it could be stormed.

But the time to charge had not yet come!

The Birth of the Congress Idea

ANOTHER catastrophe—this time one that was shared by almost all the world—in the shape of the European War and the atrocities perpetrated on the non-combatant Jewish masses by the Russian armies, by their Polish fellow-subjects, and by the German enemy, brought about the decisive action.

American Jewry decided that it must utter an open protest that would be heeded by the world because all of the strength of its two and one-half millions would be behind it. It decided that something would have to be done collectively. And this decision took form in the American Jewish Congress. "A study of the periodical literature shows that among the masses the notion of the Congress met with universal approval. It precipitated and crystallized the feeling that something should be done which would make a recurrence of such conditions impossible, clarified the mind, and gave some assurance to the faith of the people."

But one must not get the impression that the idea of a Jewish Congress came from a clear sky or that it was immediately hailed by all as the solution.

The conception of the American Jewish Congress had been lying dormant in the minds of a large number of the people since 1891, when

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an attempt was made to form such an organization under the name of the Jewish Alliance of America. Moreover, since 1905 the leaders of the Zionist movement had demanded a democratically elected committee to represent American Jewry. The world war brought into clear relief the impotence of a disorganized Jewish people. The intense suffering which the vision of the helpless martyrs brought to their relatives across the seas helped to crystallize the plan of the Congress. At the same time from all parts of the country came the simultaneous endorsements of the idea. In August, 1915, a year after the beginning of the war, there were almost a million votes cast in favor of the Congress at different times and places by members of national and independent local organizations.

The first organized step, however, was taken by the Zionists of New York City. They, recognizing the position of authority in the United States which the American Jewish Committee held because of its personnel and by reason of the people it was supposed to represent, appealed to the executives of the Committee to take the initiative in calling the Congress. The Committee answered their plea with many arguments which can be summed up in the sentence: they feared open methods and distrusted democracy. They still desired to act by the back-door method of the Shtadlan.

Not at all discouraged by this reception of their plan by the traditional leaders of American Jewry, the Zionists brought it before fifteen national Jewish organizations which accepted the plan and elected delegates to a Jewish Congress Organization Committee. This committee immediately took steps to have the plan ratified by all the Jewish organizations in America.

The New York Kehillah Takes a Hand

AMONG the organizations approached was the Jewish Community (Kehillah) of New York City. The Kehillah of New York was the result of an unsuccessful attempt to unite and organize all New York Jewry. Unable, or rather, never having made any real effort to collect funds from its supposed constituents, it stretched out a beggar hand to the wealthy Jews of the city, namely, the members of the American Jewish Committee. The contributions were liberal and sufficient, and the response of the Kehillah was to subordinate itself to the Committee in the hands of which it subsequently became a mere instrument. The question of the American Jewish Congress came up before the sixth annual convention of the Community held on April 24 and 25, 1915. It was the largest convention ever held, the delegates coming primarily to recognize the Congress idea. And though the majority indicated their desire for the Congress, the members of the American Jewish Committee, led by

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their president, Mr. Louis Marshall, were powerful enough to prevent a formal vote being taken in order that Mr. Marshall and his colleagues might have more time to consider the question. Mr. Marshall's arguments against holding the Congress were a reiteration of the Shtadlan diplomacy.

"We have no army, no cannon, no land of our own," he said. "The Jewish question should not be presented to the Peace Conference. There are more effective ways."

A month later—on May 24, 1915, to be exact—the special Congress session of the Kehillah was held, in accordance with the resolution adopted at the convention. The Jewish Congress Organization Committee presented a compromise with the American Jewish Committee in which the Kehillah was permitted to suggest to the Committee that it hold a conference, the term "Conference" having been substituted for Congress because the American Jewish Committee was "afraid that a Jewish Congress would be construed as an act of disloyalty to the United States Congress"!

The following compromise resolution was then adopted by a vote of 82 to 62:

"Whereas; This convention of the Jewish Community (Kehillah) of New York City favors the idea of holding a conference of *delegates of Jewish societies throughout the country chosen by their membership* [the *italics* are mine] for the sole purpose of considering the Jewish Question as it affects our brethren in belligerent lands, and in view of the fact that the American Jewish Committee has heretofore decided to hold a conference to which the heads of the leading Jewish organizations of the country are to be invited for the purpose of considering the same subject, be it resolved;

"That the Jewish Community (Kehillah) of New York City, as a constituent part of the American Jewish Committee, recommend to the latter that it hold a special meeting of its members with all convenient dispatch, to consider the advisability of calling a conference of the character favored by this convention in lieu of the Conference which the American Jewish Committee has heretofore planned."

But the Kehillah knew how easily this resolution could be ignored or forgotten and therefore it decided to bind its representatives on the American Jewish Committee, who could practically decide the question by their own vote, to vote for the Conference. Mr. Marshall and his colleagues promptly denied the right of the Kehillah to instruct them. The delegates, however, were determined to be independent on a question of this importance and passed the resolution binding their representatives to the action of the convention by a vote of 118 to 87. The latter then attempted to evade the resolution by introducing a motion to the effect that "it is not the intent of the resolution just passed to force any member of the American Jewish Committee to vote against his conscience." But the delegates were not to be trifled with. They detected the artifice and defeated it to the count of 93 to 82.

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Obstructive Tactics and Gradual Progress

THIS brought the question of the Congress again before the American Jewish Committee, who had given assurances at the time of the compromise accepted in the resolution of the Kehillah that it would carry out the stipulations of the compromise. But in issuing the call for the "Conference," it completely violated the spirit and the letter of the Kehillah resolution. It decided for a secret meeting in Washington at which a number of undemocratically chosen delegates from a restricted and unrepresentative group of *national* organizations were to be present. This practically excluded the great East Side element and laboring classes. This was not only breaking faith with the New York Kehillah but also turning the whole idea of the Congress movement into a continuation of their own policy and organization.

On June 4, 1916, the Kehillah held its next annual convention. The question of the Congress again was raised but this time it was immediately taken off the floor by a ruling from the Chair (Dr. Magnes) that the discussion could only be "academic," leading to no effective transactions.

But this by no means closed the discussion of the Congress by American Jewry. During this time the original fifteen national societies which had decided for an American Jewish Congress were supplemented by hundreds of national and independent organizations of all kinds. "Nothing was so conspicuous as that it was a mass movement, with a democratic bias and program." The protagonists of the movement appointed a committee to see whether it was possible to come to some terms with the American Jewish Committee. The rest of the Congress Organization Committee continued to organize the sentiment in favor of the Congress.

Conferences and Compromises

MR. (now Justice) LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, representing all the organizations favoring the Congress, began negotiations with Dr. Cyrus Adler, the representative of the American Jewish Committee. Justice Brandeis asked that instead of the Conference which the Committee had decided to hold at Washington on the twenty-fourth of October, there be called a meeting of democratically elected delegates of seven or nine of the more influential Jewish national organizations; that at this meeting twenty-four or thirty-six other national Jewish organizations be selected; that these organizations, each represented by one delegate, be asked to confer as to how and when and where the Congress or Conference or Assembly should be called; that they be free to decide any question involved in the calling of the Congress or Conference or Assembly; and that this Congress or Conference or Assembly be bound by no resolution or

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program except the understanding that it must be organized on a democratic basis.

This was a concession to the demand of the American Jewish Committee that only national organizations be represented at the Conference, and an offer to put the idea of a Congress or Conference or Assembly to a public democratic trial, and abide by its decision.

Dr. Adler turned down this offer without any other comment than that he would have to uphold the resolution made on June 20, 1915, by the American Jewish Committee in which they decided on the Washington Conference; and though a pledge had been made by the officers of the American Jewish Committee to the Jewish Congress Organization Committee that pending the negotiations between Dr. Adler and Justice Brandeis there would be no issuance of any invitations to the Conference, Dr. Adler did not wait for the cessation of negotiations before sending an invitation to the Conference of the United Synagogue, of which he was president, to attend the Washington Conference of the American Jewish Committee. At the annual convention of the United Synagogue he brought about the adoption of a resolution accepting this invitation. He also sent out simultaneously with his letter to Justice Brandeis practically all of the invitations to the Conference at Washington.

This action showed the Congress Committee that neither peace nor coöperation could be expected from the American Jewish Committee. It was evident that this little group of men were determined to retain the power and authority to which they had no right and which American Jewry wanted to vest in a representative and democratically chosen Congress. The Congress Organization Committee, now ignoring completely the American Jewish Committee and its Conference, set out to bring about a meeting of American Jewry. They were encouraged in their efforts when organization after organization repudiated the secret conference in Washington as willingly as they accepted the proposal for a free and open meeting of the Jewish people of America.

Justice Brandeis's Plea for An Open Congress

IN formulating his arguments for the Congress and against the Conference, Justice Brandeis was following, not leading, the will of American Jewry. He put the matter in this way:

"The Congress, by creating spokesmen for American Israel who are representative, will provide a body through which the Jews of America, as the only great united group of Jews, may not only authoritatively address other Governments, but may be so addressed by other Governments desirous of dealing with representatives of the whole Jewish people.

"Our demands may not be extravagant. Even the language must be temperate. But the Jews can properly ask that throughout Europe, Asia and Africa their rights be acknowledged. The Congress will have to work out those basic ideas according

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to two fixed democratic principles. It should recognize the conception of needs as experienced by the Jews in the various lands in which they live, and the political circumstances in which great groups of Jews find themselves at the end of the war. It must, of course, recognize and act according to what it may find to be in accord with the general will and the feasible program. The Congress will elect men to be its spokesmen—men who will accept its mandate to do their work within the limitations of that mandate. But these men must be supplied with more than authorization. The Congress must create the machinery which will assure that what these spokesmen promise will be fulfilled, and that whatever gains the treaty of peace may exhibit will be maintained by the united effort of the Jews.

"The Congress will have the further effect of creating unity in American Jewry, without which achievement abroad is impossible. Unity will develop because the minority will co-operate with the majority to attain the common end when the judgment and will of the majority has been democratically ascertained. This is in accordance with American methods and the demands of loyalty.

"On the other hand, the conference which the American Jewish Committee proposed should be held on October 24th, would be not only futile but dangerous. It would be futile because the conference would purport to be an assembly authorized to express the will of the Jewish people, whereas it would in fact have no such mandate and would lack the necessary support of the Jews of America without which its action would be ineffective.

"Such a conference would be positively dangerous to Jewish interests; first, because its deliberations would be secret, and the fact of secrecy would lead necessarily to suspicion and misrepresentation of Jewish purposes and deprive us of non-Jewish support. We seek action in the open so that there shall be no misunderstanding either among our own people or among our fellow citizens, as to our aims and methods. We need to avoid any real or seeming secrecy of action and of aim which might cause mistrust and which might breed prejudice. The ends which the Jewish people seek are so simple and their difficulties are so well known that no one has yet been able to state an adequate reason for holding a Jewish conference in secret.

"Secondly, such a conference would be dangerous because it would discourage activity on the part of the Jews of America who would assume that the conference had relieved them of the necessity of doing their part.

"In the third place, such a conference, in secret, would inevitably prevent Jewish unity, because a large part of the Jews of America have definitely declared against it. Of the organizations originally invited, organizations to which more than two-thirds of all the delegates arranged for have been assigned and which together have a membership of more than 400,000 persons, have already refused to participate in the conference."

A Step Forward: the Preliminary Conference at Philadelphia

THE Jewish Congress Organization Committee, in addition to inviting all the Jewish organizations in America to send delegates to a Congress, also established in every Jewish center a democratically elected Central Committee. These Central Committees in every important city of the United States acted as radiating centers for all Congress activity in its community.

In answer to these steps on the part of the Jewish Organization Committee and because of the refusal by the national organizations of American Jewry to participate in its Conference, the American Jewish Committee abandoned its Washington Conference. It now directed its energies toward impeding the progress of the Congress. It issued a state-

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ment agreeing to the Congress that was being organized but refusing to enter it unless it was specifically understood that the Congress should not be held until after the termination of hostilities.

The Congress Organization Committee refused, however, to be bound to any definite program. It determined to call a preliminary conference in Philadelphia on March 26, 1916, which would decide the ways and means for calling the American Jewish Congress. It decided to transfer to the hands of properly elected delegates all further action on the Congress and to allow them to consider the vexatious questions that had been the subjects of discussion and negotiation.

On March 26, 27, and 28, the deliberations of the preliminary conference took place. They were attended by delegates from twenty-eight states and from forty national Jewish organizations.

It was decided to convene a Congress before the thirty-first of December of that year. It was decided to secure $100,000 for the work of the temporary executive committee, and $20,000 of that sum was collected from the delegates. It was decided to accept the principle of a democratic and universal suffrage for the election of delegates to the Congress. The representation at the Congress was to be on the basis of population with the additional membership of delegates from the national organizations.

The Proposed Congress Program

THE program of the Congress was laid out on the broadest terms. The Congress was to consider the question of securing to Jews free and equal rights, civil, political, and religious, in all lands where these rights were denied them. It was to consider the question of national rights for Jews wherever these rights ought to be recognized, and the problems of Jewish development in Palestine in all its phases. It was to make efforts to coöperate with Jews in other lands in furtherance of the Congress program and to create a commission which should submit its deliberations to the Peace Conference. The problems of constructive relief in the lands affected by war, of Jewish migration in all its aspects, and of the financial responsibility which the Congress movement would create, were also proposed for consideration.

A temporary executive committee was elected, to enlist the participation of all Jewish organizations not represented at the Conference. It was also instructed to prepare for the use of the Jewish Congress data and information on:

1. Religious, civil, political and national rights in the countries where the Jews do not now enjoy such rights.
2. Emigration and all institutions dealing with it.
3. Palestine.
4. Relief.

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5. Any other questions that the Executive Committee may deem necessary and advisable.

Thus the foundation was laid for a truly representative national Jewish organization whose first duty was to be the furtherance of the immediate interests of the Jewish people.

The Final Conciliation

ASIDE from the complications which developed with the National Workmen's Committee, when the leaders of the organized labor group, in direct opposition to the will of the Workmen's Convention which elected them, took sides with the American Jewish Committee against the calling of an immediate Congress (this violation of the mandates of their constituents split the labor group into two: those favoring the Congress and those supporting the action of their leaders), the Congress movement swept the country. Even the American Jewish Committee opened negotiations with the Executive Committee of the Congress. But the compromise they demanded involved the surrender of the democratic principle. To satisfy themselves and the American Jewish Committee on the stand of American Jewry, the Executive Committee ordered a referendum. More than 800,000 votes were cast and the proposed compromise was rejected by an almost unanimous vote. Then the final compromise was reached and accepted.

The American Jewish Congress was to be held. Its basis of organization and its representation were to be democratic. And the problems for discussion were to be those decided upon by the preliminary conference at Philadelphia. The concession on the part of the American Jewish Committee is evident. The concessions made by the Executive Committee were in all but one respect formal declarations which enabled the American Jewish Committee to capitulate as gracefully as possible. In the one instance, however, it conceded something which, though fundamentally wrong, practically made no difference in the work of the Congress. It met the demands of the American Jewish Committee that the Congress be restricted to a consideration of "full rights" for the Jews. The Philadelphia Conference had decided on an open program. But as it was understood that the "open program" would not include all things Jewish, the Executive Committee thought it wise to yield to the demands of the minority for the sake of peace.

The first meeting of the reconciled and united factions was held on December 30, 31, 1916, and January 1, 1917. The Executive Committee was supplemented by members from the newly-entering organizations and the call for an American Jewish Congress was ordered before the 17th of September of that year.

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A Victory of Democracy

IN April 1, 1917, the "Call for the American Jewish Congress" was issued. About 400,000 ballots were cast at the election of delegates.

The more recent history of the Congress to date—the several postponements, the first meeting on December 15-18, 1918, with the historic action by which democratically appointed representatives of the Jewish people of America were sent as its spokesmen to plead the cause of Jewish rights and the rights of all minorities before the powers at Versailles—need not be pursued here. The great triumph had been achieved when the foundation of the American Jewish Congress was laid.

"The Congress is not an end in itself," stated Mr. Justice Louis D. Brandeis. "It is an incident in the organization of the Jewish people—an instrument through which their will may be ascertained, and when ascertained, may be carried out."

Nor is the significance of the Congress "in itself." Its importance lies not only in what it can do and will do but in what has been done to realize it. It is the victory which the spirit of Americanism was sooner or later to win over the cringing attitude of the medieval Jew. It is the declaration of emancipation of the Jewish immigrant from the benevolent feudalism which he at first welcomed. It is the clarion call which announces the entrance of democracy in the life of American Jewry and has frightened off the Shtadlan of a subject people.

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Two Poems

By Jessie E. Sampter

Spring in the Judean Lowlands

THE carpet in my house of life
Is green and crimson brown
With rows of grapes and almond trees
Embroidered up and down.

The carpet in my house of life
Is dipped in scents of Asia
From lemon bloom and orange bloom
And alleys of acacia.

A temple is my house of life
For curtained by the sky,
Its carpet an embroidered prayer
In the name of the Most High.

And for my carpet green and brown
A border round about
Is made by messengers from heaven
When the broiderers go out.

A border purple, gold and red
And pink and blue and white,
A border of wild flowers,
For my carpet of delight.

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The Pomegranate

LIFE is my pomegranate.

I cut into the fruit; I ate my pomegranate
And I spat out the seeds.

Its bud was dark red among delicate leaves.
Its flower was soft red, a deep bell full of color.
Its fruit ripened in the rich sunshine.
A golden goblet of wine, full of oriental sweetness.
Its taste is of the tropic sun, its fragrance as the incense of Arabia.
Its heart as the flushed breast of her passionate daughters,
Its form as their water-jars poised dangerously in the air.
Its seeds are legion.

"Life is as full of suffering as the pomegranate of seeds."

Jessie E. Sampter

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The Past in Poland

The Jewish Problem in the Light of History

By Archibald J. Wolfe

THERE is still an unsettled conflict of testimony between the Jews of Poland and the Polish statesmen as to the responsibility for the treatment of the Jewish population. But while the settlement of this dispute is largely a matter of the future, history has undeniable data regarding the fortunes of the Jewish people in Poland during the centuries when Poland was an independent state. A dispassionate historian, Dubnow, has described with unerring accuracy the vicissitudes of the Jewish race in Poland and Lithuania. He wrote at a time when the entry of Poland into the family of independent states was a thing utterly undreamt of. He had no axe to grind. He had no animosity against the great Catholic Slav nation, for it too suffered then under the heel of the oppressor.

ARCHIBALD J. WOLFE, author, translator, and foreign trade expert, has made an intimate first-hand study of conditions in Poland. He was born in Kharkov, Russia, in 1876, educated in Europe, and came to America in 1893. He has served with the United States Government and various associations as foreign trade expert, and is the author of a pioneer text-book on international commerce. He has also made a number of translations from leading Russian authors. He has recently made an extended trip through Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe.

The early immigration of Jews into Poland was due to two very distinct causes. The introduction of the Roman Catholic religion into Poland in 966 made the country dependent upon the German Imperial authorities and upon the ecclesiastic hierarchy of Germany, leading to an interchange of commercial relations and thus directly to an influx of Jewish traders and colonists. This penetration was slow and limited. But the First Crusade, and the persecutions of the Jews by various detachments of the crusaders from Rouen to Bohemia, directed a powerful current of Jewish immigration into Poland, where the devastating zeal of the crusaders had not reached in full force. From the time of the First Crusade on, in the course of several centuries, constant streams of immigrants from the Rhine and the Danube regions poured into Poland, augmenting in the times of specially acute persecutions (in 1146 and 1196). This immigration usually took its course through Bohemia. In the reign of Boleslav (1102-39), who

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maintained relations with the Russian prince Sviatopolk, a friend of the Jews, Jewish merchants passed freely from Galicia to Kiev.

A Haven of Refuge for Four Centuries

LEGENDARY accounts allow at least the inference that some Jews had settled in Poland even in the pre-Christian days of Polish history. The first symptoms of conflicts between Christians and Jews in Poland occurred in the latter half of the twelfth century, when Poland had split into a number of principalities. Metchislav, the ruler of the principality of Velikopol, issued an edict severely prohibiting excesses against Jews, particularly on the part of boisterous students. Polish rulers as a rule protected and patronized the Jews. During the reign of Metchislav, of Casimir the Just, and of Leszek (1205), the Jews had charge of the mint by contract, and coins of that period which have been preserved show the names of princes in Hebrew characters. In the beginning of the thirteenth century Jews owned lands and estates in Polish Silesia. Little by little the development of commercial relations between Poland and the West drew the Jewish trading community to settle in Poland. The influence of the German Jewry was naturally paramount, and the Jewish immigrants spoke a German dialect, which in the course of centuries preserved its historic characteristics from the philological point of view, though it became richly interspersed with Polish expressions and depended upon Hebrew characters for a phonetic rendering in script and print. Thus developed the language of the vast majority of the Jews in Eastern Europe and of the Jewish immigrants into the United States, known as Yiddish, which is the phonetic equivalent of the German word "Jüdish," meaning literally Jewish.

After the powerful stimulus which the persecutions of the crusaders had given to Jewish immigration into Poland, this immigration never ceased, fluctuating merely in volume, lessening during periods of comparative peace in Germany, increasing during the periods of acute persecution. For four centuries Poland was a haven of refuge where Jews escaped the hardships of economic persecution and the horrors of physical violence.

In the thirteenth century the rulers of Polish principalities, anxious to develop the trade and industries of their domains, eagerly granted refuge to immigrants from Germany, making no distinction between Christians and Jews. The population in those days experienced no discomforts from the influx of strangers who imported into the country elements of culture, such as the study of medicine, philosophy, etc. The states of Poland had not yet emerged from the elementary character of national economy. There were only two classes of inhabitants, land

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owners and land tillers. The Jews appeared as representatives of a third class, the trading community, engaged in commerce and finance. They invested their capital in industrial enterprises, acted as lessees of lands and of various revenue-raising functions, such as the exploitation of salt mines, the collection of customs taxes, etc., and as lenders of money.

Boleslav's "Charter of Jewish Rights"

THE population lived at peace with the Jews. Religious intolerance had not yet taken root in it, but little by little the influence of Germany, largely exercised through a German-trained clergy, undermined this state of affairs. Let there be no mistake about this: few facts of history are as well attested as the German origin of intolerance towards Jews (and other aliens) which the Poles exhibited in later days. On the one hand some Papal legates established canonical regulations expressly coined against Jews and heretics. On the other hand, Polish princes, particularly Boleslav (1247-79), induced the settlement of Germans by granting them autonomous rights known as *jus teutonicum*. The Germans settled in Poland in large numbers as artisans and traders and competed with the Jews, bringing with them from Germany the spirit of economic class hatred and religious intolerance. This imported "Kultur" forced many Polish princes to adopt measures to safeguard the interests of the Jews who in those days were considered an element of value to the state.

Thus Boleslav the Pious, of Kalisz, in 1264, issued a charter of rights which later formed the basis of Polish legislation relating to the Jews. This charter consisted of 37 articles and began with the following preamble: "Human actions unconfirmed by the mouth of witnesses on written testimony quickly pass into oblivion, and therefore we, Boleslav, prince of Great Poland, announce to our contemporaries and descendants that the Jews who have settled throughout our land have received from us the following statutes and privileges." The first clause states that in criminal and civil proceedings against Jews the testimony of a Christian must be confirmed by the corroborative testimony of a Jewish witness. Clauses two to seven impartially safeguard the rights of Jewish creditors and of Christian debtors in matters relating to loans. Disputes among Jews are made subject to the jurisdiction of special judges appointed by the prince. For the murder or the wounding of a Jew a Christian is answerable to a judge appointed by the prince, and in case of guilt the Christian's estate is confiscated by the prince and he is made to suffer "a suitable punishment." Several clauses establish the inviolability of the person and of the estate of a Jew excepting through judicial process. Other clauses forbid oppressive measures against Jewish traders passing en route through Poland, the imposition of heavier taxes than those borne

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by Christians, the destruction of Jewish cemeteries, and attacks against synagogues and prayer houses. The kidnapping of Jewish children for the purpose of forcible baptism is prohibited. The accusation of Jews relating to the use of the blood of Christians for ritual purposes is interdicted, a papal bull having cleared them of that calumny. The accusation to be valid must be based upon the testimony of at least three Christians and three Jews. The guarantees of Boleslav were granted "for all future times." The lawgiver evidently intended to legalize the status of Jews in such a manner that enjoying full religious freedom they could live in peace with their neighbors and add to the industrial and commercial development of the country.

The Prohibitions of the Church

BUT while the secular power sought to establish the status of the Jews on the basis of rational civil rights, being guided by the country's economic needs, the clerical power, inspired by the cosmopolitan ideals of universal church domination, strove to place them in the position of a pariah caste, considering them an element detrimental to the power of the church. Thus in the Council of Breslau in 1266, which was convoked by the papal legate Guido, an attempt was made to introduce into the oldest Polish diocese, that of Gnesen, a canonical constitution containing severe restrictions against the Jews. In article 12 of that constitution we read: "Since Poland is only a recent plant on the soil of Christendom, it must be feared that its Christian population may the more easily fall under the influence of the superstition and of the evil morals of the Jews living within it, the later and the more weakly the Christian religion has taken root in the hearts of the people of Polish lands. Therefore we most strictly enjoin that the Jews living in the diocese of Gnesen shall not live promiscuously among the Christians, but shall live separately, in contiguous houses in some separate part of the town or village. That part of the town or village where the Jews dwell must be separated from the settlement of Christians by a fence, a wall or a ditch." The Jews owning houses in streets and parts of the town inhabited by Christians were compelled to sell them in a very limited period of time. It was further ruled that during church processions the Jews were to shut themselves in their houses, that in no community should they maintain more than one synagogue, and in order to be distinguished from Christians they were directed to wear a hat of special style with a hornshaped hood. Any Jew found in a public street without such a distinguishing hat was subject to a very rigorous fine. Christians were forbidden under severe penalties from inviting Jews to partake of meals, or to drink with them, or to indulge in common celebrations and festivities with them.

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Christians were forbidden to buy meats or provisions from the Jews lest the latter cunningly poison their customers. Jews were forbidden to employ Christian servants or nurses, and they were declared incompetent to act in any official capacity.

In 1279 a Church Council was held in Budapest, attended by the Polish clergy as well as the Hungarians, and after confirming the law regarding the distinguishing of Jews outwardly by the wearing of a peculiar hat, the additional characteristic of a circle of scarlet cloth prominently sewn to the raiment was prescribed. This scarlet cloth was to be worn on the left side, over the heart. A Jew appearing in public without it was to be regarded as a vagrant. A similar mark, but yellow in color, was prescribed for Saracens and Ishmaelites, that is, for Mohammedans. In addition to Jews, also Schismatics, or members of the Greek church, were declared ineligible to the duties of customs and tax collectors.

Tolerance Under Casimir the Great

IN the first half of the fourteenth century the immigration of Jews into Poland from Germany assumed great proportions due to severe excesses against them on the ground that they were responsible for the Black Plague which decimated Europe. The Jews were accused of having poisoned the wells used by Christians.

In the second decade of the fourteenth century, King Ladislaus terminated the rule of petty princes in Poland and assumed the title of king, laying the foundation of a united Poland. His able son, Casimir the Great, labored hard to develop Poland. He built new towns, encouraged trade and commerce, and even cared for the interests of the tillers of the soil. He was called the king of the serfs, and it was said of him that he had found a wooden Poland and left one of stone. Casimir greatly favored the Jews as an element of economic value in his kingdom. He tried to bring the Jews and the Christians closer together on the basis of peaceful toil and mutual helpfulness. He could not but realize the advantages which accrued to the impoverished exchequer of Poland through the financial activities of the Jews. In the second year of his reign, in 1334, Casimir confirmed in Cracow the charter granted the Jews by Boleslav and extended its validity to all the provinces of the kingdom of Poland.

In the closing years of his reign, between 1364 and 1370, he added additional clauses to Boleslav's charter, and in view of the hostility of the clergy he insisted on the emancipation of Jewish affairs from municipal and ecclesiastic organs. The Jews were now free to settle anywhere in Poland, to lease the estates of nobles, to own lands, etc. The higher nobility on the whole supported the king in his kindly treatment of the Jews. In the year of the great plague—1348—several thousand Jews

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were killed in Polish towns on the German frontier, according to the unconfirmed testimony of an Italian chronicler. At any rate the calumny connecting the Jews with the spread of the Black Plague penetrated into Poland from Germany. And Jews persecuted in Germany flocked into Poland. About this time Jewish communities were formed in Galicia (in the city of Lvov or Lemberg). In 1356 Casimir granted to Lemberg the *jus teutonicum*, and also some autonomous privileges to the Jews of Lvov.

Casimir the Great exhibited this attitude of tolerance to all minorities of racial and religious character, but the detractors of the Jewry accuse Casimir the Great of having favored the Jews for personal reasons. He is supposed to have had a Jewish mistress Esther who wielded much influence; she was later killed by order of Casimir's successor Louis of Hungary. The stories relating to this romantic affair contain so much that is purely legendary that it is difficult to establish anything definite about the initiative of Esther, who was the daughter of a Jewish tailor. Suffice it to say that the rights of Russians, Armenians, and Tartars were also carefully safeguarded by this wise king.

A Fifteenth Century Pogrom

IN the brief reign of Louis of Hungary (1370-1382), who followed Casimir, chroniclers state that justice vanished, the law was silent and complaints were heard on every hand against the injustice of judges. Louis was a strict clerical and he strove to curtail the rights of the Jews. It was under the reign of the Lithuanian prince Jaghello, who married the daughter of Louis, Jadwiga, and became king in 1386, that the situation of the Jews in Poland underwent a marked change for the worse.

Ladislaus Jaghello was a pagan converted to the Roman Catholic Church and a most zealous neophyte. During his prolonged reign the Jews were severely persecuted in Poland. In Posen they were accused of having bribed a Christian woman to steal three sacramental wafers, which they mutilated with pointed instruments and blasphemously cast into a pit, where living blood issued from the wafers. The Bishop of Posen, learning of the sacrilege and of the miracle, caused the criminal woman accessory and thirteen heads of the Jewish community to be burnt at the stake! (This happened in 1399). And upon the Jews of Posen he imposed a permanent annual fine which was still being paid in the eighteenth century.

But religious motives in these persecutions were merely a cloak for economic motives. The townspeople were envious of the prosperity of the Jews who had monopolized certain branches of commerce. They wanted to get rid of inconvenient competitors. Thus occurred the great Pogrom in Cracow in 1407. In this ancient Polish capital the Jews had

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prospered and multiplied. The citizens of Cracow envied them; the church dignitaries were scandalized by the calm and prosperous condition of these proscribed unbelievers. During the Easter festival the accusation was made in a sermon that the Jews had slaughtered a Christian infant and used his blood, and had thrown stones at a priest proceeding with a crucifix in his hands. The crowd rushed out of the church and attacked the foes of Christ. Many were killed.

The clerical reaction which was responsible for such excesses was really an indirect effect of the Hussite commotion. One of the participants in the Constance Church Council which condemned Huss was Nicolas Tromba, the Archbishop of Gnesen. On returning from Constance he convoked a council of the church at Kalisz; and though it principally dealt with the Hussite heresy, it also confirmed the anti-Jewish edicts of the councils at Breslau and Budapest.

These clerical efforts finally influenced the secular power to adopt measures against the Jews. At the Diet of 1423 King (Ladislaus) Jaghello issued laws restricting the Jews in the loaning of money.

The Swing of the Pendulum in Lithuania

LITHUANIA, though dynastically united with Poland, was an autonomous country only lately converted from paganism. It is difficult to ascertain when the Jews first settled in Lithuania, but at the end of the fifteenth century there were already prominent Jewish communities in Brest-Litovsk, Grodno, Lutsk, and Vladimir. Grand Duke Vitovt, who ruled from 1388 to 1430, either as independent prince or as deputy for his cousin Jaghello, the king of Poland, issued a charter of privileges for the Jews. According to this charter the Jews of Lithuania formed a class of free citizens under the immediate jurisdiction of the prince and of his administrative organs. They were allowed to live in communities with autonomous administration for their inner affairs, though criminal matters were subject to the regular courts. Their persons were protected against wanton attacks. The Jews of Lithuania traded in market-places, as shop-keepers, artisans, and agriculturists. The Jews of Lithuania lived happily. Lithuania was the terminus of the Jewish emigration from Germany, because Russia was practically closed to them.

The third king of the Jaghellonian dynasty, Casimir IV, who reigned from 1447 to 1492, and was Grand Duke of Lithuania before he assumed the crown of Poland, started out as a liberal ruler. During the conflagration in Posen which took place in 1477, the original charter which Casimir the Great had granted the Jews was destroyed. Casimir IV willingly granted a fresh charter which even extended their liberties.

But Cardinal Olesnitzki and the papal legate Capistran, who came

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to Poland in 1453, publicly warned the king to recall these privileges. The Jews and the Hussites had to be kept down. Cardinal Olesnitzki wrote to the king in 1454 as follows: "Think not that in the matters of the Christian religion thou art at liberty to make laws at will. No one is so great and mighty that he could not be enjoined in matters relating to the faith. Therefore I beg thy Royal Majesty to abolish the said privileges and liberties. Show that thou art a Catholic ruler."

Casimir IV for a long time was firm, but circumstances shaped themselves so that he could not hold out. Poland was fighting the Teutonic Order. The first defeat of the Poles at the hands of the Teutonic Knights was the signal for the clericals to point to the punishment of God. Casimir submitted. In 1454 he issued an edict revoking all privileges granted to the Jews as contrary to divine right and secular laws, and restored the old disabilities of 1423.

The anti-Jewish attitude was gradually adopted by people in general. Attacks upon the Jews became frequent. In 1464 a pogrom took place in Cracow on the occasion of the Polish crusade against the Turks in Europe.

The reactionary policy forced upon Casimir IV was continued by his successors King Jan Albrecht of Poland and Grand Duke Alexander Jaghello in Lithuania. In 1494 a conflagration destroyed a large section of the city of Cracow. The Jews were forced to move into a suburb and there live as a separate community. This was the first of the ghettos in which the Jews for centuries afterwards lived their own peculiar life, only very slightly connected with the outside world in economic relations.

While Jan Albrecht was king of Poland, his brother Alexander ruled Lithuania as Grand Duke. At first he was well disposed towards the Jews, but in 1495, for some unknown reason, he banished them altogether from Lithuania, confiscating all their immovable property. The exiles settled in Poland with the permission of King Jan Albrecht. When the latter died and Alexander succeeded to the crown of Poland, in 1501, he permitted them to return to Lithuania.

The Pawn of Opposing Interests

BY the beginning of the sixteenth century the Jewry in Poland had become an element of considerable economic and public importance. There had been up to that time two migratory currents of Jews from Western Europe towards Turkey and towards Poland. The Jews who had come to Turkey were Sephardic Jews (of Spanish-Portuguese extraction), and under the influence of their environment they gradually lapsed into a state of Asiatic stagnation. The Jews of the Ashkenazi rite made Poland a center of active cultural and material development. Poland

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from a colony of Jewry became its center. The populous community of Jews in Poland and Lithuania was not a hunted caste or a uniform economic class as in Germany, but an important social element whose activities manifested themselves in various spheres of the social-economic life. It was not limited to two exclusive professions—the commerce in funds and petty shopkeeping—but participated in all branches of industry and commerce, including agriculture. The Jews acted as lessees of customs, taxes, and highway tolls, of revenue from articles of drink and food, and often as the King's financial agents. When their right of acting in an official capacity was restricted by legislation, they leased royal and private estates with the right of exploiting their natural resources. Jewish merchants exported agricultural and other products to Austria, Moldavia, and Turkey. The less wealthy among them were engaged in trades, arts and crafts, or operated farms, orchards, dairies, etc.

Poland was a state in which class interests frequently clashed with typical violence. The upper classes enjoyed exceptional liberties. They included the higher nobility, the clergy, and the upper fringes of the town population. Royal power was bridled by constitutional limitations and clashed with the broad privileges of the wealthy land-owners, that is, the higher nobility. The interest of the higher nobility clashed with the importunate clamoring of the lesser nobility and with the comparative autonomy of the Christian guilds of merchants, traders and artisans. These conflicting interests contended in the Diet, in legislative assemblies, and in the courts. The clergy of the dominant church took an active part in politics, strictly in the interests of its own organization. All of these classes had their own attitude towards the Jews, and this attitude was dictated purely by class interests. Medieval intolerance had at last been so strongly inculcated in the Polish people that there was no question of either social or judicial equality for Jews. The Jews were valued only to the extent to which they could be of advantage to this or that class, and since the advantage of one class was strongly resented by other classes, conflicts were inevitable and the Jews appear frequently as patronized by some classes and persecuted by others.

There were two classes in Poland that were friendly to the Jews and two that were hostile. The first were the royal power and the higher nobility, the second the clergy and the town population. In addition to the interests of the treasury which replenished its coffers through frequent extraordinary taxes imposed upon the Jews, the King derived great personal advantages from their commercial activity. He valued the huge amounts received in advance from a Jew leasing the right of collecting taxes or the exploitation of royal domains. Jews became financial agents to the court and could always be relied upon to procure money in advance. The higher nobility valued the Jews as lessees of their estates, being too

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indolent and reckless to manage them on their own account. This intermediate position of Jews between the great land-owner and the tiller of the soil was of considerable benefit to the higher nobility. But while patronizing the Jews of these wealthier classes, neither the royal power nor the higher nobility cared anything for the interests of the great mass of Jewish merchants, tradesmen, artisans, etc. These bore the brunt of the hostility of Christian guilds, in which the German element greatly predominated. This hostility was frankly based on the resentment of Jewish competition. The organs of the city administration, the magistrates, oppressed the Jews; members of the guilds incited mobs to wreck Jewish business houses and homesteads. The clergy agitated against the Jews strictly on religious grounds.

This conflict of class interests is decisive for the condition of the Jews during the golden period of Poland's independence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As first one class and then another gained the upper hand, its attitude towards the Jews prevailed.

Royal Encouragement and Liberalism

THE first decade of the sixteenth century found the Jews in Poland and Lithuania once more in possession of all the rights which they had enjoyed during the latter portion of the fifteenth century, but of which from time to time their detractors had striven more or less successfully to deprive them. The same Lithuanian Grand Duke Alexander Jaghello who had driven them out of Lithuania recalled them as soon as he succeeded to the crown of Poland. Poland under Alexander entered upon a still closer union with Lithuania, and the new king recognized on the one hand the economic value of the Jews to the country and on the other the extent to which his budget depended upon their activities. One of the tax-lessees, a wealthy Jew by the name of Josko (a contemptuous Polish version of Joseph), had the lease of customs and toll collections for almost one-half of the kingdom of Poland. He was by way of encouragement, together with all his employees and dependents, exempted from the jurisdiction of all local courts, being subject to the king's tribunal only, even as the members of the royal court.

Alexander's successor, Sigismund I (1506-48), though a very faithful son of the church, was essentially a just monarch and proclaimed as his guiding motto that equal justice was to be meted out to the rich and to the lords and to the poorest man in the land. Such a lofty principle could not be successfully carried out in a country with such strong class interests as Poland unless the conditions strongly favored entrenched authority of the crown. Such conditions still prevailed under Sigismund I as far as Lithuania was concerned, but to a far less extent in Poland.

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Sigismund appointed a Jew named Michael Josefovicz, who was the tax lessee for Lithuania, spokesman for the entire Jewry in the kingdom, with the right of judging his co-religionists, collecting special taxes from them, and with the assistance of a rabbi even intervening in their religious life. Michael's brother Abraham was also a tax lessee, but he embraced Christianity and his descendants were quickly merged in the ranks of the highest nobility.

The Hatred of Commercial Jealousy

WHILE in Lithuania, which was essentially an agricultural country, the Jews possessed many rights and privileges based upon the old liberal charter, the Jews in Poland did not fare so well. The development of cities progressed rapidly, and Jews were found to be competitive factors which the Christian traders and artisans and magistrates sought to curb. This was evident particularly in the cities of Posen, Cracow, and Lvov (Lemberg). In Posen the magistrates restricted the Jews to keeping shops within their own pale of settlement. The Jews complained and King Sigismund commanded the magistrates to desist from curtailing their privileges. But the magistrates rejoined that the Jews were prone to hire the finest shops in the city, where formerly Polish and foreign (German) merchants had been wont to trade, thus greatly scandalizing the Christian population and presenting the risk of subverting the faithful from the true religion. This reference to the religious element had its effect, and various oppressive restrictions were introduced, such as forbidding the Jews to buy provisions until the needs of all the Christian people had been supplied. The Jews at Lvov were restricted from dealing in merchandise excepting wax, furs, cloth, and horned animals.

Commercial rivalry led to organized provocation of the mob against the Jews. Attacks became so frequent that King Sigismund put the population of Cracow under a heavy bond to observe the peace, and instructed all administrative organs to judge disputes by law and not by force of arms or provocation to excesses. This elementary lesson in righteousness was not greatly heeded in the succeeding centuries, and when Poland came under Russian rule, at least as far as a large part of her territory was concerned, instead of excesses being provoked by private interests jealous of their pockets, the central power assumed this form of underground persecution.

Toward the end of the first half of the sixteenth century the Jewish problem forms a constant source of debates in the Diet. A strong agitation on the part of the nobles and of the clergy seeks to deprive them of the right to act as tax collectors. They are restricted in their right of universal trading; their financial operations are limited; and an

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attempt is made to restore the distinguishing marks on their clothing, which in the meantime they had dropped.

The growth of an anti-Trinitarian sect in Poland led to active persecutions of the Jews by the clergy, for the clergy believed these doctrines to be based on the Jewish faith. A prominent woman was burned to death as a heretic for denying the Trinity. Rumors were current that many defections had taken place, and the Jews were subjected to a search of their households to ascertain whether they harbored heretics or encouraged them. The anti-Trinitarian movement, however, was essentially Christian and had nothing to do with Judaism. Episcopal "bulls" were issued against the Jews (*De Stupendis Erroribus Judaeorum*, 1541, and *De Sanctis Interfectis a Judaeis*, 1543). In 1542 the Synod of the Polish clergy met in Piotrkow and announced that since the church tolerates the Jews merely to remind the faithful of the sufferings of the Savior, they must not under any circumstances be permitted to increase in numbers. A whole series of restrictive measures was outlined, but these never became law.

Repressed Animosity Under an Enlightened King

SIGISMUND I was succeeded by Sigismund II (1548-72), who was tolerant to dissenters and Jews. He greatly expanded the autonomous self-administration of Jewish communities in communal matters. The Jews were exempted from the jurisdiction of city courts and placed under the jurisdiction of crown courts. This referred only to Jews living in royal cities and on royal estates. Jews living on the estates of nobles were subjected to the jurisdiction of the nobles, in accordance with the principle established by King Sigismund I that "nobles in whose towns and villages Jews dwell, must not only derive benefits from them, but also judge among them, but since the King derives no benefit from them, he is not obliged to see that justice is done to them." This dualism of royal and hereditary nobility power in the end undermined the system of royal paternalism.

In their relations with the population in towns the Jews fared a little better in the reign of Sigismund II than under his predecessors, but many restrictions still prevailed, such as the obligation to live in and trade in their own quarters, and the limitation of the number of dwellings they were allowed to erect, thus forcing the Jews to build many-storied houses and to herd together in a state of unsanitary congestion.

But though the Jews managed to live at least in comparative peace with all other classes, the Polish clergy was irreconcilable. In 1558 a Polish woman and several Jews were burned to death because of the alleged theft of a sacramental wafer by the Polish woman and the blas-

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phemous stabbing of the wafer by Jews, with consequent profuse bleeding of the desecrated wafer. Sigismund was indignant over the trial and the penalty, realizing that the whole affair was concocted as an indirect proof to the growing number of Calvinists of the truth of the Eucharistic doctrine of the church. But in spite of the liberal views of the enlightened King, the Diet issued laws in 1562 and 1565 which strongly restricted the liberties of the Jews and other infidels. In 1564 a Jew was executed for ritual murder, and the King finally prohibited the prosecution of Jews on the charge of desecrating sacraments or of ritual murder, stating that such accusations have always proved baseless.

In 1569 the union between Lithuania and Poland became still closer than before through the signing of the Lublin Union Treaty, and the fate of the Lithuanian Jews, who had been rather liberally treated, henceforth does not differ from the fate of the Jews in Poland proper. Three years later King Sigismund August died, and the Jews lamented their protector. In his person the Jaghello dynasty became extinct and the period of elected kings ensued. After an interregnum, another enlightened and liberal ruler, Stephen Batorius (1576-86), ascended the Polish throne, and he, like Sigismund II, protected the rights of the Jews, though he could not avert a pogrom organized in Posen by the trading element which incited the mob to loot the Jewish shops and to kill Jewish traders.

The Trail of Persecution

THE results of the upheaval in Polish politics through the introduction of the election system for the throne, which placed the ruler in the power of his electors, the high hereditary nobles, were seen under the first two kings of the Swedish Vasa dynasty, Sigismund III (1588-1632) and Ladislaus IV (1632-48). The influence of the clergy also grew apace. The hereditary nobles controlled all official appointments. The clergy sternly repressed not only the rights of the Jews, but undertook to eradicate Protestantism and the Greek-Orthodox church, the "faith of the serfs" as it was termed. The Jews were to be transformed into a shut-in, rightless caste. Draconic measures were promulgated against evangelical sects, and the Greek Catholics were forced into a union with the Roman Catholic church. A general period of lawlessness ensued in Poland, due to the degeneration of the liberties of the hereditary nobles into license. The free veto which nullified the authority of the Diet, class squabbles, the boast of the nobles that Poland was kept up by disorder, the exploitation of the lower classes for the selfish interests of the hereditary nobles, could not fail to produce the most serious effects upon the state of the country.

The fate of the Jews in Poland in this period passes under the influ-

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ence of the hereditary nobles. Though racial and religious prejudice led them to dislike and despise the Jews, they did not overlook the many economic ties which bound them to the Jews. The reckless and extravagant Polish noble who neglected his estates to argue politics in the Diet, or to amuse himself with the chase and social entertainments, needed the Jews for revenue purposes. And the tendencies of the clergy were curbed to that extent. But the economic struggle with their Christian competitors in arts, crafts and commerce now assumed the form of strong religious intolerance towards the Jews. A period of very bitter persecution, largely directed by German interests, ensues. City courts take the Jews under their jurisdiction, and justice becomes a farce. Ritual murder charges, and accusations of desecrating the sacrament, with the blood never failing to issue from the element so desecrated, become frequent. The Jews are blamed for the plague of 1602. Jewish physicians are accused of using magic to bring about the death of Christians. Many executions take place in connection with the ritual murder fable. The Jews are driven very largely from the big towns and settle in small villages, engaging to a considerable extent in agriculture as lessees.

Such was the state of affairs in Poland proper, where the Jewish element met with economic and religious hostility. Bad as the conditions were, the comparatively broad system of internal autonomy, with its opportunities for united action, afforded them some slight weapons of defense. But the struggle was between two elements only—the Polish and the Jewish, the synagogue and the church.

Smouldering Fires in the Ukraine

A GREAT deal more complicated were the conditions in the Ukraine, which was then a part of Poland. Here a third element appeared, hostile both to the Poles and the Jews, the Greek-Orthodox Russian tiller of the soil. Ukranians are Russians, though they are termed Little-Russians and speak a dialect of the Russian language.

The vast domain of Ukraine was politically under the rule of the kings of Poland, and economically in the hands of great Polish landowners. Tremendous estates, with a profusion of populous villages teeming with Orthodox Russians, were owned by Polish absentee landlords. The serfs were alien to their masters in religion and nationality, and mutual hatred existed between them. Orthodoxy was to the Pole, particularly to the Polish clergy, a serf's religion. The Pole looked down upon the Ukranian Russian as upon an inferior race. He overburdened the Ukranian with almost superhuman taxes and manorial duties. But living as they did away from their estates, the Polish landlords turned over their management to Jews, with instructions to get results in the shape of funds.

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This inevitably led to a terrible exploitation of the peasants. Small wonder that they hated their Polish masters, and if possible still more the Jewish lessees who were nearer to them. The Jew in the Ukraine was placed between the anvil and the hammer. Three races, three religions, three classes met in the Ukraine on a soil pregnant with destructive forces, and a catastrophe was inevitable.

The Ukranian peasants were not a dumb and patient mass. To the east and to the south of them, the steppes and the Crimean sphere of influence exposed them to attacks, and they had long since formed the semi-military organization of Ukranian Cossacks under the leadership of the "hetmans" or chieftains. But these Cossacks were not content to remain under the power of the kings of Poland. Many of them fled beyond the falls of the Dnieper river—"za porogi"—beyond the falls—which led to the name of Zaporoshsky Cossacks. In the course of time there grew up in that territory a free band of liberty-loving Cossacks, with daily accretions of venturesome spirits. They dreamt of the time when they could swoop down upon the Poles and upon the Jews, whom they hated as estate managers of the Polish noblemen. And when that time came the first of the Russian pogroms took place. The Poles were content with oppressing and humiliating the Jews; killings were comparatively few. But the Cossacks and in their wake the Russians massacred them—and continued to do so for centuries to come at periodic intervals.

The Cossack Pogroms

THE first of the Ukranian pogroms took place in 1648 under Bogdan Chmelnitzki, the Cossack chieftain. Polish oppression enraged him, but he impartially murdered Poles and Jews alike. Thousands of Jews lost their lives. Thousands fled to Tartary and were sold as slaves in Turkey, to escape the dread alternative of a cruel death or of Orthodoxy. Tragic was the fate of the Jews who had gathered in fortified places. Hearing that in Nemirov in Podolia several thousand Jews had assembled and fortified themselves, a Cossack detachment appeared before the town with Polish banners and were admitted by the defenders. Joining the local Russian ruffians, the treacherous invaders massacred the population. The women were violated and murdered or forcibly baptized and led away the unwilling brides of assassin-Cossacks. The famous rabbi and Rosh-Yeshiba Jechiel Michel ben Eliezer was hiding in the cemetery with his aged mother, wishing to be at least buried when killed. He was clubbed to death by a drunken horde before the eyes of his mother, and then the aged woman was murdered.

In the ten years 1648-1658 over 500,000 Jews perished in Poland at the hands of the Cossacks and the Russians. Seven hundred communities

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suffered violence. In every country of Western Europe and Asia fugitives from Poland, and slaves ransomed from the Turks and Tartars, could be found. The literature of the period is heartbreakingly filled with a record of martyrdom.

But the tremendous vitality of the Jewish race helped the Jews of Poland to survive that terrible period, and an era of restoration lasting from 1658 to 1697 ensued. They began to return to their devastated homesteads. King Jan-Kasimir granted them new privileges and strove to heal the wounds of the stricken, long-suffering people. The victims of Ukranian Cossacks and of the Muscovite-Swedish invasion were given temporary relief from taxation. The Ukraine was divided between Poland and Russia. But it remained for a long time the apple of discord between Poland, Russia and Turkey.

Michael Vishnevetsky, elected king to succeed Jan Kasimir, was a patron of the Jews. He reigned from 1669 to 1673. His successor, Jan Sobiesky, 1674-1696, was the last Polish sovereign to render justice and to give protection to the oppressed Jewry of Poland. But even under his reign they suffered violence from ruffianly artisans and the students of the Jesuit colleges in Vilna, Posen, Lemberg, and Cracow.

The Gradual Disintegration of Poland

UNDER the kings of the Saxon dynasty, August II and III, the dissolution of feudal clerical Poland proceeded apace. This period lasted from 1697 to 1763. Every class of the Polish population pursued selfish aims. The free veto of every attendant at the Diet paralyzed all orderly government, and naturally the Jews suffered. They were oppressed by every class of the population, and there was none to defend them. The Saxon kings did not preserve even the general interests of the state, far less the interests of a defenseless race. The agents of the government abused the Jews with fiendish cruelty. This was a period of numerous processes, many of them terminating with the execution of the accused, based on the accusation of ritual murder. The Jews of Poland sent deputations to the Pope begging him to use his influence to stop this persecution, and Clement XIII responded by instructing his legate in Warsaw to oppose these calumnies.

When King Stanislaus Poniatowsky was elected in 1764, Poland was under the virtual protectorate of Russia and on the brink of ruin. The government was not concerned with improving the material condition of so important a class of the population as the Jews constituted at the time; its aim was only to extract as much money as possible from them. Meanwhile in the Ukraine a new uprising was brewing against the Poles, and the Jews were fated to suffer even more than the Poles.

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Terrible massacres were perpetrated upon the Jews by the Cossacks under the notorious leader Shelesniak.

A country where the highest nobility despised and hated the lower nobility, where the lower nobility despised the middle class, considered business a disgrace, and made slaves of the peasants, where the clergy hated all persons of other faiths, where all the classes hated the Jews, and where the peasants were enraged against all upper classes, had no other future but utter ruin, and Poland perished. In 1772 the first partition of Poland took place.

The remaining independent portion of Poland now came to its senses. Reforms were initiated. The Jesuit order was suspended. In 1778 a law was promulgated assuring the Jews inviolability of person, but they were still forced to live in towns and in special sections of each town. Only towards the end of her career, in the stormy period of the French Revolution, did humane aspirations become apparent in Poland, and a spirit of repentance became manifest. But, alas, it was too late. These were the moments of Poland's pre-mortal agony; she was soon destined to be stifled in the claws of the buzzards of Eastern Europe, and the Jewry of Poland was to pass into another period of its history, not by any means a happier period, but one the sufferings of which can not be ascribed to the Polish nation.

The years preceding Poland's return to independence are filled with strife and boycott by Polish nationalists against the Jews. But the Jews laid down their lives in thousands for the liberation of Poland. They greeted her re-birth with delirious happiness—and in the very first moments of her freedom Poland renewed with unheard-of refinements her old policy of murder and rapine, in the face of the awakened conscience of the world.

A. J. Wolfe

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The People of the Abyss

By Israel Zangwill

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ONE should not look a gift-horse in the mouth, and Jacob Fingermann's new novel, *Menschen Im Abgrund* (R. Löwit Verlag, Vienna and Berlin), being dedicated to the writer, might be considered immune from his criticism. Yet since the young author is anxious for my public opinion, I cannot well deprive him of it. And indeed his revelations are of the gravest and demand the light of day.

When Herr Fingermann first informed me of the kind of book he was writing—the tragedy of Polish Jewry during the war—I naturally prepared myself for expulsions *en masse*, anti-Semitic persecutions, whether pogroms or pin-pricks, economic boycotting, accusations of profiteering, charges of treachery from each and all of the invading armies in turn—in short, something like that imagined report of Sir Stuart Samuel, which the British Government is so suspiciously keeping back. There would at least be starvation under our blockade. But on the contrary, although of course the poor are poorer than ever, from beginning to end one's nostrils sniff with delectation the odors of roasted geese, delicious white rolls come hot from the oven, the samovar steams, champagne fizzes, and dance-music trips and swings. The old *Chassidim* go with beards unplucked and unimperilled, and in their greasy, ragged caftans pore peacefully the long night through over their mystive folios, on which the guttering candles drop tallow, while at the expense of an opulent member of the brotherhood they feast royally on Wurst, eggs, and a bottle of Schnapps. In the wedding festivities the bride and bridesmaids (the bridegroom is, by Polish custom, conspicuous by his absence) sit in white array, the musicians play roisterously, the *Marshallik* turns his merry and mercenary rhymes. Prosperous husbands or fathers buy sparkling jewelry for their womenkind. On the Bourse or in the coffee-houses there is brisk speculation; in the theatres beautiful ladies in airy toilettes adorn the stage or the stage-boxes; at the card-tables the play is high, and rolls of the falling rouble pass from hand to hand. The only physical persecution of the Jews in the whole book is a raid upon their quarter—to bathe them against spotted typhus. It causes one of the few complaints we hear from them of the hard Jewish lot—how cheap Jewish blood is held, or Jewish dignity. Nor, although it is a war-book,

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is there a word directly about the fighting. And yet the whole story is one of almost unendurable tragedy, of spiritual degradation. It is the story of the people of the abyss.

* *

IT will be seen that the author has devised a ground-scheme of no ordinary subtlety. He has taken Lublin, a Polish town through which the war never actually passed, though regiments were drilling in it for the front. And though Lublin thus remains untouched and tranquil, a little dead-alive provincial town to which only its Jews give animation, yet the distant war reaches out a thousand arms to strangle all that is decent in it. Of the purpose of the war we hear no word; there is nothing of the glamorous rhetoric with which the British soul enswathed it. There could not in fact be a more terrific indictment of war than emanates as if unconsciously from this bland and brutal book. For although not even an aeroplane hovers over Lublin, the nervous apprehension that its abnormal security will soon be at an end, drives it into the sensuous satisfaction of the moment. All is guzzling and swilling, fraudulence and fornication. We have the sordid effects of war without even its redeeming heroism.

With some of these by-products of war we have become familiar even in England—the promiscuity resulting from the absence of husbands, the lessened regard for human life. But we have not reached the shamelessness of these almost public orgies in theatre-boxes or restaurants, though we may have come near them. And thought doubtless there have been peculation, food-smuggling, and falsification of passports, we have known nothing on such an organized basis as in Poland, where, according to our author, the Austrian officials, dressed in their little brief authority, have the time of their lives in profiting by their opportunities, and, originally men of honor, go headlong over the abyss of demoralization.

* *

AND, although the moral pestilence germinating in the distant battlefields is naturally not limited to the Jews of the town, yet they do not escape it, partly from their habitual assimilativeness, but mainly from the peculiar treatment dealt out to them. For here comes in the real persecution of Polish Jewry—a negative rather than a positive persecution—a refusal to grant to them any of the concessions or licenses necessary to their livelihood. And if Shylock was right when he urged:

> "You do take my life
> When you do take the means whereby I live"——

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it was practically a massacre of Polish Jewry. And though they could escape at a price, that did but constitute a moral massacre. Sometimes indeed in their wretched greed and baseness, the wealthy send their own wives and daughters on the criminal quest of business concessions; but more often it is a case of sheer necessity, as Folberg, the dandified Jew, expresses it in a burst of sympathy: "The Austrians allow no glass of beer to be sold, no bit of bread to be baked, unless some one pays for the concession. And how does one get this? The ways are bitter. In these little towns sit military men and officials. The war is far away, they live like in Paradise, and are sated with gold and grub. They are bored and their belly is full. The Jew comes: 'Give me, gracious Herr, the scrap of official paper so that I may carry on my business.' He finds deaf ears. He comes a second, a third, a fourth time. The surfeited officer laughs him to the door and waits for his destined victim. The Jew is in despair. His money is at the last rouble, and famine peers from every corner. He resists, reflects, seeks some outlet—all in vain. See how the Christian business man, without any trouble, obtains concessions and contracts. The bread in the house is dwindling to the last crumb. He goes yet again to the official: 'Have pity, gracious Herr.' 'Get out! You Jews want to eat up the whole trade. I can do nothing. . . . Oh, by the way, send your daughter here to-morrow. Perhaps in the meantime I shall think of something for you.' The Jew collapses as under the blow of a headsman. He knows now the frightful price. He suffers, sells his last rag, consumes his last crust, and nevertheless one night a Jewish maiden finds herself in the officer's arms. Then full soon the concession is granted. Bread and money stream into the dishonored Jewish home."

* *

NO wonder another Jew in the book complains that the immemorial foundations of Jewish life are being undermined. Indeed without its domestic virtues how should Jewry stand? To quote Shylock again:

> "You take my house when you do take the prop
> That doth sustain my house."

One after another the personages of the story fall over the abyss on whose brink they have been hovering. And all this diseased and distorted life finds its inevitable nemesis—the lights go out, the music dies, and the dancing, perfumed minxes perish in hospital, young soldiers take poison, beautiful women moan insanely for their slain lovers, conspirators murder officials and blow out their own brains—Lublin, though it has escaped being a battlefield, is left strewn with corpses and suicides.

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Obviously not a cheerful book, nor one to encourage mankind to turn away from the League of Nations. Even a Zionist gathering in the Herzl Club brings no balm to the wounded spirit of the critical observer, though a thousand Jews jostle to find standing-room when the great Hebrew writer and orator, Brandes—a touch of historic realism this—comes to offer the conventional rhetoric. As the editor of the *Morgenblatt* explains cynically to an impressed spectator, they cannot be really awakened from their apathy, or their lust of gold and gormandizing; they come as to a dramatic spectacle, to get a cheap sensation. I am bound to say my own observation of many popular meetings—whether Jewish or Christian—addressed by myself does not differ from that editor's. One touch of verisimilitude is, however, absent from this account of a Zionist meeting, for it appears to begin punctually.

* * *

THERE are characters in this grim book that are new to the literature of the Ghetto. Its leading figure, Lazarewitsch, for example, a *Chassid*, who prays in phylacteries and is engaged in great speculations with the rouble and undertakes grandiose illegalities to help the Polish revolutionaries, has yet a romantic passion for his pretty, faithless wife, despite her modern fashionable culture, and for all his narrow pietism is built on big lines, which compel even this giddypate's reluctant admiration. It is not a character that I have myself encountered, nor has the author succeeded in making it comprehensible, any more than he has succeeded in making it clear whether his wife is simply a minor Messalina or is really actuated by the desire to have a child. Possibly we are to understand a subtle self-deception, in accordance with the doctrines of the author's fellow-townsman, Freud. Or perhaps writing in Vienna in days of cold and hunger, Mr. Fingermann has not quite succeeded in his artistic task. His forte indeed seems to be less in character-drawing or in construction—for the structure of the book is desultory and the atmosphere to some extent broken by the intrusion of a Polish revolutionary episode—than in description. The vividness and brevity of his scenes are extraordinary, and if he cannot always get inside his personages, his painting of outsides is not easily matched. Whether he is showing us a bearded Jew with thumping heart and false passport slipping a thousand-rouble note into the gendarme's hand, at the exit from the railway station; whether we are sleighing through the snowy streets, past the grey houses, and over rough, dangerously-rutted roads; whether he hales us into the smoky din of chattering cafés, or into the slangy society of gambling and womanizing officers; whether he is giving us welcome glimpses of the humors of Yiddish players or showing us angry specula-

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tors quarreling over their joint losses; whether he is sketching the conscripted shopkeeper who will move heaven and earth to prove he is too sickly for the front, or the shrewd business man who refuses a loan to an apparently rich colleague because in a cold room he sees a bead of perspiration on the would-be borrower's brow, Herr Fingermann draws in a few strokes a series of unforgettable pictures.

Even the revolutionary episode, disruptive as it is to the composition, is wonderfully dramatic. And, like a true artist, Herr Fingermann never underlines. You have to perceive for yourself the irony of the universal longing of the Austrian officers and functionaries for the glories and gaieties of Vienna—where life is one long round of concerts and cabarets, and millions are made overnight. And the artist similarly desists from rubbing in the pathos or the humor of the Jewish soldiers' jubilation when their eye catches the headline in some trumpery little journal, "Peace negotiations with Russia." They even dash off to fête the peace! A true touch of Jewish psychology, that!

* *

HOW far the picture as a whole stands in true proportion or correspondence with the realities of Polish-Jewish life during the war, or how far the young novelist has been carried away by righteous indignation—and the book's motto from Jeremiah provides the clue to his mood—I am unable to say, "the fog of war" having reduced the mutual knowledge of Europe to that of the Dark Ages. But even in our Austrian Jeremiah's picture the gloom is not utterly unrelieved. Stealing through all this horror and ugliness, like a delicate and exquisite music heard in the pauses of a Witches' Sabbath, comes the interlude of Brane, the poor maiden who works her hands to the bone at the factory and in the poverty-stricken home rather than go over the abyss with her girl-companions; and literature has few scenes more touching than her emotion when she is wooed by an honest breadwinner. That is an episode far more moving than the death through hunger and exhaustion of her little brother—a death that comes much too suddenly and unprepared to be convincing. Rarely touching too is the picture of the happiness of her humble, one-roomed ménage, with its dripping walls, its bed and its sewing-machine; such a bargain at three roubles a month! "Life is beautiful," says the little journeyman tailor. "Never have Brane and I been so well off!"

And here we see at last what the author is trying by contrast to teach us. For this is the only happiness achieved amid all that egotistic and esurient crew, unless we count the moment when the old innkeeper sings the Sabbath *Zemiroth* and the young Jewish officer-guest feels that

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the simple immemorial ritual makes a core of peace amid the madness of the Gentiles and their war. And the same lesson wafts from that more ironic episode upon which the story closes. The poor old Chassidim sit at night at their Seder-table; and while their wealthy, broken-hearted brother, whose adored wife has gone over the abyss, peers in like a lost spirit at the festal lights and the quaint Passover dishes and wine-cups, these penniless white-bearded ancients intone with a yearning rapture: "Next year in Jerusalem."

Israel Zangwill

ONE of the most brilliant contributions from the pen of Israel Zangwill—a fascinating portrait-study of the late Joseph Fels, the single-tax advocate and champion of many causes—will appear in an early issue of THE MENORAH JOURNAL. *Mr. Zangwill knew Mr. Fels intimately, and his kindly yet penetrating character-sketch of the millionaire who combined great business success with the pursuit of a visionary social ideal is worthy to rank with his gallery of the "Dreamers of the Ghetto."*

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IV "Slumkin Was a Yiddish Writer—"

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THE MENORAH MOVEMENT

For the Study and Advancement of Jewish Culture and Ideals

Intercollegiate Menorah Association

(Founded Jan. 2, 1913. First Menorah Society founded at Harvard University Oct. 25, 1906)

"The object of this organization shall be the promotion in colleges and universities of the study of Jewish history, culture, and problems, and the advancement of Jewish ideals."

Consisting of Menorah Societies of students at 73 American and Canadian colleges and universities.

Menorah Educational Conference

(Founded Dec. 29, 1918)

Object: To foster and to guide Menorah Education in American colleges and universities and among university graduates and other men and women in the general community interested in Jewish culture and ideals.

Membership: Open to all college and university officers and instructors and to other persons actively interested in educational work and approved by the Membership Committee.

National Menorah Association

(Founded Dec. 29, 1919)

Object: To mobilize university graduates and other public-spirited men and women in support of the Menorah Movement.

Graduate Menorah Societies

In Cincinnati, New Orleans, Montgomery, New York City, Milwaukee, Chicago, Montreal, Boston, Worcester, Rochester

Objects: (a) To advance Jewish learning; and to stimulate untrammeled, non-partisan discussion of contemporary Jewish life and thought.

(b) To accord recognition to scholars, publicists, and others who have contributed to the advancement of Jewish culture and ideals, or the promotion of greater understanding between Jews and non-Jews.

(c) To lend support to the Intercollegiate Menorah Association, and particularly to Menorah activities at local universities.

Menorah College of Lecturers

Scholars, Investigators, Men of Affairs, lecturing and leading forums at colleges and universities and before Graduate Societies.

The Menorah Journal

(Founded January, 1915)

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The Menorah Bulletin

(Founded December, 1917)

Monthly organ of Menorah student activities, exchange of ideas, discussions, references, etc. To include a Digest of news and current literature in all languages regarding Judaism and Jews throughout the world.

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THE
MENORAH JOURNAL

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A Program for the Reconstruction of Judaism

By Mordecai M. Kaplan

[Editors' Note.—The Menorah Journal is always happy to publish the sincere, thoughtful views of scholars bearing on the reconstruction of Jewish life in any of its phases. The Journal itself, as our readers know, is not associated with any views thus presented, our concern being exclusively to enable our readers to judge for themselves.

The paper here presented was read before an informal conference of rabbis and laymen in New York, called recently to consider the state of Judaism in view of the world upheaval and the changes in Jewish life. An organization has since been formed to promote the interpretation and advancement of Judaism along the "historical and progressive" lines formulated in this paper.]

Mordecai M. Kaplan (born in Russia in 1881) was educated at C. C. N. Y. (A.B.), Columbia (M.A.), and the Jewish Theological Seminary (Rabbi, 1902), and is now Professor of Homiletics at the Jewish Theological Seminary, and Principal of its Teachers' Institute. Readers of The Menorah Journal *will recall his exceptionally stimulating series of articles, setting forth his conception of Judaism, which appeared in several issues of 1915-16.*

We have come together to deliberate the problem of Judaism with a view to taking such action as may help to solve it. Our purpose is not to organize for the sake of organization, nor to engage merely in academic discussion. We want to arrive at a common understanding in order to work as a body for the advancement of Judaism. While I believe that those of us who are gathered here are sufficiently like-minded to carry out such a purpose, it is well that we should become clear as to our attitude towards the present status of

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Judaism in order that we may be sure that there is a meeting of minds among us.

In the first place, we are intensely desirous of having Judaism play an important rôle in the spiritual life of mankind, and we therefore refuse to view with equanimity the plight in which Judaism finds itself today. We are not deceived by the few sporadic signs of activity and interest in things Jewish, because we know full well that they represent nothing more than the momentum of Jewish life in the past. If a new synagogue is established, the organizers are not men who have been born and brought up in an American environment, but who immigrated to this country from eastern Europe. If, as a result of strenuous endeavor, a few Jewish student organizations spring up in some of our colleges, in nine cases out of ten the initiative is taken by the foreign-born, or by those who were brought up in the Jewish ghettos of our larger cities. Judaism in America has not given the least sign of being able to perpetuate itself. Very few American Jewish homes, if any, have produced rabbis, or teachers of religion, or communal leaders. Our spiritual poverty is so great that we have not in this country a single Hebrew printing establishment for the publication of books that are essential to the preservation of Judaism. We have not a single original edition of the traditional prayer book, to say nothing of the Bible or post-Biblical literature. These and many similar facts go to prove that Judaism under democratic conditions such as obtain in this country has thus far not been able to develop that vitality which could endow it with creative power and make it capable of sustained effort and adaptability.

Orthodoxy No Longer Keeps Pace With Modern Thought

SECONDLY, we are agreed that the salvation of Judaism cannot come either from Orthodoxy or from Reform. Orthodoxy is altogether out of keeping with the march of human thought. It has no regard for the world view of the contemporary mind. Nothing can be more repugnant to the thinking man of today than the fundamental doctrine of Orthodoxy, which is that tradition is infallible. Such infallibility could be believed in as long as the human mind thought of God and Revelation in semi-mythological terms. Then it was conceivable that a quasi-human being could hand down laws and histories in articulate form. Being derived from a supramundane source, these laws and histories, together with the ideas based upon them, could not but be regarded as free from all the errors and shortcomings of the human mind. Whenever a tradition contradicts some facts too patent to be denied, or falls below some accepted moral standard, resort is had to artificial interpretations that flout all canons of history and exegesis. The doctrine of infallibility rules

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out of court all research and criticism, and demands implicit faith in the truth of whatever has come down from the past. It precludes all conscious development in thought and practice, and deprives Judaism of the power to survive in an environment that permits of free contact with non-Jewish civilizations.

There are, no doubt, a few who manage to acquire a high degree of modern culture and even to achieve distinction in some branches of modern knowledge without finding themselves intellectually at variance with Orthodoxy. They belong to those who see no need for welding tradition and experience into a unitary organized mental background. They willingly subscribe to the medieval principle that Torah and philosophy have nothing to do with each other, because it saves them a great deal of mental bother. But such religiosity is only a small eddy in the main current of Jewish life. Though we, who are assembled here, maintain all of the ceremonies and observances that Orthodoxy insists upon, we do so in an entirely different spirit and for entirely different reasons from those which actuate the Jew of Orthodox convictions. Our position is indeed an anomalous one, for it is inevitable that we should inwardly rebel against many of the observances that habit and general expectation lead us to conform with. Were we even to give hearty assent to all of the traditional customs, we should nevertheless lay ourselves open to the charge of hypocrisy by reason of the false impression that we make upon those who do not take the trouble to know what we stand for.

This spiritual maladjustment is inherent in the very makeup of the Historical School in Judaism to which most of us take pride in belonging. Professor Schechter rightly described the position of the Historical School when he said, "On the whole, its attitude toward religion may be defined as an enlightened scepticism combined with a staunch conservatism." Such an attitude is defensible in the first stages of reaction to unreflecting religiosity, but cannot be maintained for any length of time without developing a cynical contempt for all spiritual values.

Reform Is Merely a Negation of Judaism

OUR dissent from Reform Judaism is even more pronounced than that from Orthodoxy. If we have been content to put up with much in Orthodoxy that we do not approve of, it is that we might not be classed with the "Reformers." The reason for this attitude of ours toward Reform is that we are emphatically opposed to the negation of Judaism. The principles and practices of Reform Judaism, to our mind, make inevitably for the complete disappearance of Jewish life. Reform Judaism represents to us an absolute break with the Judaism of the past,

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rather than a development out of it. In abrogating the hope for a national restoration, it has shifted the center of spiritual interests from the Jewish people to the individual Jew. Reform Judaism has as little in common with historic Judaism as has Christianity or Ethical Culture. Although it insists that the Jews are a religious community and not a nation, it has never taken the trouble to develop the full implications either of the term 'religious' or of the term 'community.' It overlooks the fact that a community implies living in common and not merely believing in common. A community is not merely a society. It is because we refuse to sublimate the Jewish people into a philosophical society that we object to the Reform Movement. While the Reform Movement gives free scope to the intellectual inquiry, it does not take full advantage of that freedom. Being opposed to ancient ideas is not the same as having acquired modern ideas. There is as much credulity in gulping down ill-understood modern slogans as in blindly accepting ancient dogmas. If the Reform Movement had learned from the recent studies of the history and nature of religion, it would have abandoned its attempt to reduce Judaism to a few anemic platitudes.

The untenability of the Reform position is never so apparent as in its attempt to find in the mission idea a substitute for the national aspiration of the Jewish people. On the face of it the mission idea appears more absurd than the belief in the personal Messiah. The belief in the personal Messiah at least has an air of poetry and romanticism to it, and until recently no one thought of questioning its literalness; whereas the mission idea, as entertained by Reform Judaism, represents a half-hearted attempt at self-hypnotization. So far as making the Jews understood to the rest of the world is concerned, which is after all the avowed aim of the Reform Movement, the so-called mission idea is certainly a failure, for it does more to accentuate the alleged megalomania of the Jews than the most extravagant messianic doctrine.

The Revolutionary Influence of the Zionist Aspiration

THE third point on which we concur, and which therefore gives us reason to believe that we may arrive at conclusions acceptable to all of us, is the fact that we are Zionists. We not only share the aspiration to see Israel restored to his homeland, but also subscribe to the principle that such aspiration is synonymous with the revival of Judaism. The very act of translating the longing for the restoration into practical effort has opened up to us a new vista of Jewish thought. It has helped us to discover the reality of the Jewish soul and the Jewish consciousness behind the system of beliefs and practices identified as Judaism. If we profess a Zionism that is more than merely political,

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we are largly indebted to Ahad Ha'Am, who was the first to give articulate expression to the spiritual significance of the Zionist Movement. Though practically nothing has been done to develop the larger implications of this profounder view of Zionism, there is a broad basis for co-operation in the conviction common to all of us, that the fate of Judaism is bound up with the success of Zionism.

Our dissatisfaction with the present status of Judaism is of long standing. Yet we would, perhaps, have continued sulking, each in his little corner, if it were not for the pressure brought to bear by the events which have taken place within the last few years. The ship of Judaism is bound to be wrecked upon the dangerous shoals towards which it is drifting unless we immediately take hold of the helm and try to steer it to safety. The Great War has brought about conditions in Jewish life that call for careful and deliberate planning. The future cannot be allowed to take care of itself. The war has done much to unsettle men's minds on all questions which they had hitherto regarded as finally closed. It has bred a deep dissatisfaction with traditional habits and ideas in all phases of life. Beliefs and practices grown hoary with age are scrutinized as to their origin and value. Discontent, which had been limited to the few, has become democratized and is reveled in by the many. Even the churches, which are the last to yield to the demand for change, have become extremely active of late and are making desperate efforts to maintain their hold upon the hearts of the masses. Programs favoring social and economic reconstruction are issued by the great ecclesiastical bodies. Amalgamations between different sects are being effected, and new lines of effort are entered upon in order to prevent wholesale desertion from the church.

The Compelling Need of a Revitalized Judaism

JEWS undoubtedly share with the rest of the world not only the economic and social discontent, but also the religious. Yet the existing Jewish religious organizations seem to be so dead that they do not even feel the effects of the spiritual change which our people must have undergone. That is why we hear of nothing being done in Jewish life to meet the requirements of the newer world for which everyone is hoping. But if the Christian Church, with all its prestige and power, is jeopardized by the present turn of events, what must be the perilous condition of the Synagogue, which in the best of times has had to struggle against overwhelming odds? In view of the fact that existing congregational and rabbinic organizations seem to be insensible to the danger which is threatening Judaism, and spend most of their time either perfecting their machinery or listening to speeches full of soothing banalities, it is impera-

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tive that something be done immediately apart from those organizations to halt the impending disaster to our religion.

Furthermore, as a result of the World War, the Jewish people is on the point of realizing its age-long dream of a restored Palestine. The very realization, however, of that dream imposes upon us the duty of making provision that the Jewish reclamation of Palestine shall lead to the upbuilding of Judaism instead of to its destruction. It is a mistake to believe that the Jews who will go to Palestine will, of their own accord, without the aid of the Jews in the Diaspora, develop a Judaism which will prove that all our hoping and waiting all these centuries was worth while. Whether or not there is such a thing as spontaneous generation in physical life, it certainly does not exist in spiritual life. Spiritual development implies a clear conception of a goal as well as of the intermediate steps leading toward it. Will the Jews who migrate to Palestine go there with any clear aims as to Judaism, or do we expect them to undergo a sudden metamorphosis as they are transported from their old homes? They will undoubtedly bring along with them all their intellectual shortcomings and old-world prejudices. Unless somewhere outside of Palestine, let us say in America, the religious problem of Palestine Jewry is dispassionately studied and illumined, what chance is there that it will be solved amidst the brawls that are filling the air of the religious cockpit of the world? Were I not averse to drawing analogies from the past, I would remind you that without Babylonian Jewry Palestine would have been lost to Judaism. The program of Judaism which the restoration of Palestine calls for would not be meant for Palestine alone, but for the whole of Israel. Such a program is especially needed, now that the restoration of Palestine enables us to reckon with Judaism as a complete organism instead of the headless torso that it has been heretofore.

We Must Go to the Root of Our Spiritual Malady

IN getting to work upon a program for the reconstruction of Judaism we must take care not to miscalculate the magnitude of the task before us. Unless we are prepared to go to the root of the spiritual ills in Jewish life, we had better not begin at all. We must not be like physicians who are content to treat the symptoms of a disease rather than attack the cause, and who, instead of suggesting a real remedy, recommend some patent medicine or incantation. The real issue is not how to render our ritual in keeping with the requirements of modern life, but how to get our people sufficiently interested in religion to want a ritual. If we are not prepared to do much more for Judaism than revise the prayer book, we should leave the prayer book alone. We are faced with a problem no less than that of transforming the very mind and heart of the

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Jewish people. Unless its mythological ideas about God give way to the conception of divinity immanent in the workings of the human spirit, unless its static view of authority gives way to the dynamic without succumbing to individualistic lawlessness, and unless it is capable of developing a sense of history without, at the same time, being a slave to the past, the Jewish people has nothing further to contribute to civilization.

But to effect these changes in the soul of the Jewish people means to accustom the Jew to the new way of thinking which mankind is slowly but surely adopting. We little realize that the mind of the race is maturing. When the Jewish people was at the height of its spiritual productivity, the human mind, even in its highest reaches, was still in the child stage. Humanity, through its leaders of thought, is passing out of that period. If the Jewish people intends to participate in the forward movement of life, it must develop that maturity which characterizes not merely the average man or woman of today but the most cultured individuals of the race.

The Worship of Ideas Must Give Way to Dealing With Realities

THERE is a fundamental difference between the youthful and the mature thinking of the race. The youthful thinking of the race is ideological; the mature thinking is realistic. In ideological thinking, the predominant tendency is to adapt life, as far as possible, to a thought world of some kind, whether that thought world has been transmitted to us from past generations or is the result of our own mental construction. Ideas, instead of being regarded as a means to an end, become an end in themselves. As soon as an idea is given assent to, and is believed in for any length of time, it is placed above scrutiny of criticism. Thus arose the doctrine of infallibility. The philosopher, who elevates general ideas to the status of creative powers and divinities, or who is determined to demonstrate that the whole of reality falls in with some preconceived logical scheme, is no less ideological than the primitive whose life is governed by a system of taboos, the origin and meaning of which he never thinks of questioning. But as soon as ideological thinking gives way to realistic thinking, the mind of the race may be said to enter upon its maturity. Realistic thinking consists in viewing ideas as a means of dealing with the realities in the physical and social world. Ideas are primarily instruments of thought, and their value consists in their being an aid to the furtherance of life and well-being. Reality is felt to be something profounder than any idea or system of ideas.

The change from the ideological approach to the realistic represents the change from unscientific thinking to scientific. As long as man studied the stellar universe from the ideological point of view, he was an

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astrologer, but when he began to approach it as a scientist, he became an astronomer. When he viewed the elements of the earth ideologically, he was an alchemist, but when he studied them scientifically he developed chemistry,—and so throughout the entire gamut of what is now the content of scientific knowledge. In philosophy, too, each tendency has its representatives. Plato, Plotinus, and Hegel have been the world's greatest ideologists; but it is to Aristotle, Bacon, and Bergson that the world is indebted for its realistic thinking.

Applying the Social Test to Religious Ideas

OF main interest to us, however, is the effect of these two thought tendencies upon the development of religion. It may be said that until recently all religion, with the single exception which I shall presently mention, has been ideological in character. In so far as every religion has expected unquestioning loyalty to the traditional beliefs and practices and deprecated all inquiry and criticism, it assigned primacy to ideas instead of to life. The ideological character of religion stood out with especial prominence in more recent times when dogmas and formularies were endowed with the power of soul salvation. No doubt the ideological method of thinking was essential to the human race in the past. Man would never have been able to survive the odds which he encountered in the natural environment if he had not been sustained by the comforts and consolations which he drew from the thought world of his own making. The very denial of reality which that thought world implied made it possible for man to overcome the severities of nature red in tooth and claw.

But when man conceived the ambition of mastering the forces of nature rather than being mastered by them, he began to realize that he must not allow received notions to stand between him and reality. Carrying over this new mind habit into religion, man is gradually beginning to feel that the form of social life into which he is born with all of its sin and suffering is not a finality, and that he is as capable of controlling the main social forces as he is to some extent the physical forces. Any religious idea that has come down from the past will have to prove its validity by being a means of social control and betterment. Hence the future is with all such religion as can adopt the social instead of the ideological approach to all questions pertaining to the spiritual life of man.

It is this that gives us confidence in the future of Judaism, because from its very genesis it fastened, as by divine intuition, upon the social instead of the ideological approach. This is the real significance of the unique type of prophecy which distinguished Judaism from all other

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religions and by means of which Judaism revolutionized the religious life of two-thirds of the race. In Israel, prophecy was social in so far as it interpreted ideas and traditions with a view to furthering the highest purposes of social life. This prophetic point of view has never been lost sight of by the Jewish people. When the issue was presented to an ancient sage whether the Torah existed for Israel or Israel for the Torah, he did not hesitate to reply that the Torah existed for Israel.

Judaism Must Be Revised from a Social Viewpoint

THE adoption of the social viewpoint is an indispensable prerequisite to a thoroughgoing revision of Jewish belief and practice. That viewpoint will enable us to shift the center of spiritual interest from the realm of abstract dogmas and traditional codes of law to the pulsating life of Israel. We will then realize that our problem is not how to maintain beliefs or uphold laws, but how to enable the Jewish people to function as a highly developed social organism and to fulfill the spiritual powers that are latent in it. This is not the place to elaborate upon the manner in which the social approach to Judaism would revitalize the fundamental ideas of religion. The idea of God, for example, would become as operative in the spiritual life as the idea of gravitation is in the physical world. It would not only throw light upon many a phenomenon in social life, but would also guide us in organizing that life for higher ends and purposes. It would also help us to come to an understanding as to the nature and place of authority in Jewish life. The transition from a thought world in which miracles and theophanies were part of the scheme of things into a world conceived of as acting with unbroken uniformity would by no means be a difficult one. But so long as we remain under the dominance of the ideological method, we can at best effect a superficial compromise which in the long run must prove fruitless.

The claim will probably be made that it is hopeless to expect agreement on so fundamental a question as what constitutes the proper method of approach to the problem of religion in general and to Judaism in particular. Those who are of that opinion either have lost faith in the function of religion, or believe that it is possible for people to profess the same religion without any intellectual agreement whatever. As I am sure that you subscribe to neither view, you will admit that at least a uniform approach to the problem of Judaism is no less possible to men of an intellectual bent of mind than a uniform approach on the part of all students of nature. In fact, our adherence to the Zionist movement has already paved the way for a common acceptance of the social point of view in Judaism, for the main problem of the Zionist movement is how

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shall the Jewish people live. As Zionists, the problem of Judaism is to us simply the problem of the spiritual life of the Jewish people, and not a problem of abstract creeds and laws.

The Three Main Lines of Reconstruction

IN view of these considerations, I believe that a program for the reconstruction of Judaism ought to include the following three items:

1. The interpretation of Jewish tradition in terms of present-day thought.
2. The fostering of the social solidarity of the Jewish people through the upbuilding of Palestine, and the establishment of Kehillahs and communal centers in the Diaspora.
3. The formulation of a code of Jewish practice so that every Jew may know definitely what constitutes loyalty to Judaism.

While all of these activities should be instituted as soon as feasible, the order in which they are mentioned represents the degree of emphasis to be laid upon each at the present time. Thus, any attempt on an extensive scale to change the ritual would be entirely premature just now, before we ourselves have become firmly grounded in this newer outlook upon religion and Judaism, and have developed at least some of the most important implications of that outlook. Even then, I believe that the major part of the energy and time at our disposal will have to be devoted to what might be termed an educational campaign for popularizing the social approach to Judaism. We would have to establish some organ, such as a monthly or preferably a weekly, that would serve as a medium for the purpose of spreading our views broadcast. If the impression goes forth that we are mainly interested in making changes in the prayer book or in the system of observances, we will naturally be regarded as belated Reformers.

The achievement of our purpose will be facilitated if our initial activities identify us in people's minds as a new school of thought in Judaism, rather than as a new brand of Reform. If, for example, we come out with a new and revitalized conception of the Jewish duty toward the Talmud Torah, in its most comprehensive sense, we are less likely to be misunderstood. We must recognize that it is important not only to do right but to appear right. While we do not want to retard unduly the adoption of the much needed changes in our ceremonial practices, we should by all means avoid such a distortion of issues as that which is responsible for making the question of wearing or not wearing the hat the main line of cleavage between diametrically opposed types of Jewish life. We would no doubt be saved from such a fate if our first efforts were

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aimed at reinstating Jewish study as a religious duty from which no Jew, whether young or old, should be exempt.

Breathing New Life Into the Ancient Language and Literature

THE task of reinterpreting Israel's ancient literature in terms of present-day categories of thought must be undertaken by all Jewish educational institutions from the most elementary to the most advanced. In our religious schools, the fundamental problem is how to present the Bible in such a way as to avoid the mental struggle which sets in as soon as the youth is initiated into the thought life of the modern man. New material of an inspirational and instructive character will have to be worked out for those who have attained the age of adolescence, and who are at present without any means of enabling their Jewish consciousness to grow and deepen simultaneously with the rest of their mental life.

Finally, the institutions of higher learning should be made to realize that the range of scholarship must be extended so as to reckon with the newer point of view that has been acquired as a result of social and psychological research. The study of the Bible should not be left to non-Jews. It should be approached neither in the uncritical spirit of the traditionalists nor in the destructive spirit of the higher critics. The Bible should be investigated anew as a record of the profoundest experiences of the soul of Israel, so that we ourselves may be kindled with the holy fire that permeated that soul when it was most alive. A study of the Bible from this point of view would breathe new life into our entire rabbinic literature, which has fallen into complete neglect except for some two or three hundred quotations that are used by preachers to impress their congregations with their learning.

A movement such as ours should aim at Hebraizing Jewish education and fostering the study of the Hebrew language and literature. This interest in Hebrew is to be motivated not only by a sentimental attachment to an ancient language, but by the conception of Judaism as the spiritual life of the Jewish people. A language is the most tangible means of conveying the reality of the soul of a people. It is only when we speak the language of a people that we can be said to breathe its very spirit. Hence, the study and use of the Hebrew language should be urged as no less a religious duty than the use of it in the prayer book is now regarded by the Orthodox.

The Need of Fostering Jewish Communal Life

THE second line of activity, which should consist of efforts to strengthen the social solidarity of the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora, requires as much attention on our part as the work of transforming the

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mind of the Jewish people. There is at the present time no organized Jewish group that is qualified to foster Jewish communal life in the Diaspora. Both the Orthodox and the Reform Jews have a tendency to concentrate all their efforts upon one limited aspect of Jewish life, the one upon a decorous service, the other upon a kosher meal. The extreme Zionists, who despair of any spiritual life outside of Palestine, certainly have no patience with any attempt to bring order out of the chaos existing in the communal life in the Diaspora. The very existence of that chaos, they believe, will constitute an additional incentive to those who are intensely Jewish to migrate to Palestine. They would, therefore, do nothing to improve the status of Jewish communal life. In the meantime, there has come to the forefront a class which is only too anxious to take control of some of the Jewish communal affairs, in order to guide them away from Judaism. I refer to the class of Jewish philanthropists who are determined to kill Judaism with charity. They are ready to assist the Jew whenever he is in trouble, to heal him in his sickness, to send him relief if he is in want, to supply his children with social facilities and decent amusement, and, if need be, to distribute him to the four corners of the world. But they systematically oppose anything and everything that might strengthen the Jewish consciousness or promote Jewish solidarity. Their policy has brought into existence a new type of social worker, whose main problem is how to administer an anesthetic to the Jewish people, so as to render its death painless. If, here and there, a social worker is to be found who refuses to contribute towards this solution of the problem, he has a hard time squaring himself with his directorate.

It should be the aim of a movement such as ours to see that the control of Jewish institutions passes over into the hands of those who believe in Judaism and the Jewish future. There is, of course, much more to this second line of activity than merely perfecting the machinery of organization. Jewish organization in the Diaspora must be given a philosophy so as to save it from misunderstanding on the part of either the Jew or the Gentile. Much educational work will have to be done to teach our people to create institutions that are calculated to further Jewish aims. How great an amount of misdirected energy would have been saved if those who have built up synagogues had been shown that the future of many a congregation has been compromised by the failure to provide social and recreational facilities in the synagogue itself. The relation of social and recreational life to spiritual development has only become apparent in recent years, and the truth concerning it is in need of wide diffusion in order that our people may not repeat the mistakes committed in the various Jewish institutions, religious, philanthropic and educational, which they have established.

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A Code of Religious Conduct for the Individual Jew

THE third part of our program should consist of the formulation of a code of practice which should deal with the whole range of human conduct. The purpose of such a code should be to state as specifically as possible how the religious principles of Judaism may be translated into the daily conduct of life. Such a code would have a different character from a system of Jewish legislation, which implies an autonomous communal life. It would serve primarily as an expression of the Jewish collective will, and would help to demarcate those who want to remain Jews from those who do not.

Such a code ought to embrace the following divisions:

1. *Laws of personal conduct.*
2. *Laws of social purity.*
3. *Laws of equity.*
4. *Laws of holiness.*

1. *Laws of personal conduct* should include among other things a regimen for the care of the body with a view to the prolongation of life and the proper fulfillment of man's physical and mental functions. It would not even be out of place to include suggestions for making proper use of mental influence on physical health. Jews should not have to go to Christian Science to obtain the spiritual food which acts as an anodyne and restorative. Judaism has sufficient content to supply the Jew with the proper kind of religious meditation that can induce peace of mind and the spirit of faith in the healing influence of the Divine Presence.

An attempt should also be made, in connection with the ethics of personal conduct, to develop higher as well as more specific standards of truth speaking. What truth is ought to be defined more specifically in relation to the various interests that make truth-telling and truth-knowing difficult. Furthermore, a series of principles as well as specific suggestions concerning gratitude, humility, modesty, generosity, sympathy and similar virtues would be of considerable help in calling forth these qualities. Such is the power of suggestion that even the mere calling attention to ethical traits of character goes far toward bringing them out. The development of an ethical casuistry along the lines intimated by Ahad Ha'Am would result from the codification suggested.

2. *Laws of Social Purity.* Although in the matter of family relations and social purity, Jewish law abounds in prescriptions that still function in Jewish life, and that have contributed more than any other to the preservation of the Jewish people, yet new conditions have arisen which call for the formulation of additional standards of social purity. We have to reckon, in the first place, with the fact that each state has its own laws pertaining to family life and social purity, and that these laws very often make the Jewish law inoperative. The proper adjustment

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between the Jewish law and the laws of the state must therefore be formulated. Furthermore, there are phases of family life and social purity which have begun to receive the attention of men and women who do not want to leave the perpetuation of the race to chance, but wish to put in its place deliberate planning. Hence, any code of social practice that is to serve as a guide in the most important and intimate problems of life cannot afford to pass over in silence the problem of eugenics in all its aspects.

A New Opportunity for the Jewish Sense of Justice

3. *Laws of Equity.* Judaism was deprived of its most vital element as soon as the study and practice of Jewish civil law began to fall into desuetude. Judaism without the civil law has been reduced to a system of ritual restraints, and has been deprived of the opportunity which it had throughout the centuries, of demonstrating its unequalled power to deal with the problems that arise out of conflicting social interests. We do not sufficiently appreciate the significance of the fact that for centuries decisions rendered in the Jewish courts approached more nearly the ideal of justice and were freer from all taint of bribery and partiality than the decisions of the best secular courts in Europe. Should the spiritual capacity for meting out justice, which seems to be inherent in the character of the Jew, be permitted to go to waste? Should not courts of arbitration be instituted wherein the Jewish genius for justice shall once more find opportunity for expression? In order, however, to make such courts feasible, it would be necessary to bring the Jewish civil law into conformity with the law of the State.

Furthermore, new problems have arisen, due to the change in man's conceptions. The entire economic order is being shaken to its foundations because principles hitherto accepted as axiomatic are now questioned. Men's ideas as to the just distribution of wealth are undergoing a radical transformation. Few would venture to be dogmatic at the present time as to the rights of property. What was hitherto considered perfectly just and proper is now beginning to be condemned as exploitation. Not alone natural resources, but all forms of wealth are coming to be regarded more and more as capable of being held at the best only as a social trust. Nor will it do for Judaism to limit itself to mere pronouncements and declarations similar to those issued by the various churches. If glittering generalities were sufficient, it would not be necessary to go beyond the one or two general principles to be found in the Bible. In the Commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is latent every law that bears upon social justice. Nevertheless, it is not a sufficient guide in the solution of the actual problems of life. Nor can a few

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mere general principles suffice. It is by giving to religion detailed application that religion and life become synonymous.

The Readjustment of Ceremonial Observances

4. *Laws of Holiness.* The sense in which I use the term "holiness" is not that which we usually associate with individual saintliness. The saint is one who may be said to transcend the law, not that he can dispense with it, but that he is supposed to have gone far beyond it. I refer rather to that type of holiness which is attained by a group as a whole when it begins to show signs of self-consciousness and to give expression to the deliberate desire to attain spiritual ends. Then it develops those institutions and social practices that we call religious ceremonies and observances. Thus, in Judaism, the Sabbaths and the Festivals, the liturgical prayers and the dietary laws, have ever been a means of keeping the Jewish people aware of a higher destiny to which it must aspire. These laws have, however, grown in complexity and hamper the Jew in the pursuit of his practical affairs to a degree altogether out of proportion to the good to be derived from a punctilious observance of them. In the case of the liturgy, not only are its contents and length entirely out of keeping with the requirements of present-day life, but there are parts in it which have been made entirely obsolete by changes in social conditions and in the intellectual point of view. The consequence is that the observances are neglected and the drift away from Jewish life readily sets in.

Any movement which aims at reconstructing Jewish life must revitalize the entire system of ceremonial observances by adjusting them to the spiritual needs of our day. But we must not lose sight of the fact that holiness represents the outcome of a life, not the beginning of it. Hence, we cannot be in a position to work out the proper system of institutions that shall enable the Jewish people to give expression to the sense of holiness, before we have at least become clear as to the general outlook upon life that we want the Jew to hold, and as to the line of individual and social conduct that we want him to adopt. Just as the liturgical prayers we possess today would be inconceivable without a background of biblical and post-biblical literature, so it is futile to expect a new liturgy without first creating the much-needed spiritual background. As far as abrogating some of the ceremonial restrictions is concerned, the Talmudic principle that the exercise of leniency implies greater knowledge does not hold good today. To begin our activities, for example, by declaring the double observance of each festival, which is undoubtedly a burden, no longer in force, would only cause our entire movement to be caricatured in the minds of most people, and for that reason we ought to

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postpone any action on the ceremonial observances, at least until such time as our point of view and spiritual aim become generally known.

A Call to Enlightened Loyalty

TO carry out the aims of such a program, we have to call into existence a type of organization that is new to Jewish life. We should not constitute ourselves a third party in Judaism. There is already enough of fragmentation and division among us without creating a new sect in Jewry. What we need is that a number of individual Jews and Jewesses devote themselves seriously to the task of carrying out a program like the one outlined. They should form themselves into a society for the diffusion of what may be termed the new religious realism which shall give us a Judaism that is both historic and progressive. By whatever name such an organization would be called, it would essentially be a society for the advancement of religious realism in Jewish life. Is it too much to expect that the cause of spiritual enlightenment and progress among the Jews will gather around its standard as efficient, devoted, and self-sacrificing a society or order as did the cause of reaction, fanaticism, and spiritual slavery in Christendom when the church was in danger? I would not think of referring to the Jesuits even for the purpose of illustration, but their keen insight into the value of educational activity as a means of religious reconstruction is certainly worth while acquiring.

In forming such an organization, we cannot count upon the kindling ardor of crowds. We want only such men and women as have considerable Jewish background, large vision, and an unshakable faith in the recuperative powers of the Jewish soul. There is a sufficiently large number of such men and women among us. Let them only overcome their own inertia and learn to work together for the good of Judaism. We may then rest assured that the long cherished dream of the spiritual regeneration of the Jewish people will become a reality.

Mordecai M. Kaplan

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Joseph Fels

By Israel Zangwill

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JOSEPH FELS

I HAD never heard of Joseph Fels until a shining-eyed little man walked into my office unannounced and unheralded, and offered me a hundred thousand dollars. It was in Essex Street, where Dr. Johnson had once presided over Sam's Club, that this miracle occurred. In this old-world by-way off the Thames, in an atmosphere of solicitors and sporting papers, the Jewish Territorial Organization (yclept for short, I.T.O.) had raised the standard of the Jewish State, and the visitor's offer was meant as a contribution to the sinews of war. Unfortunately, it is not only the propositions of Satan that have strings to them. Even angels, whose visits are so few and far between, hedge their gifts with conditions, and what Mr. Fels wanted was that the State to be brought into being should be established on a single-tax basis.

Sympathetically disposed as I was towards land-nationalization, and still more towards I.T.O. capitalization, I was unable to pledge the organization to the Henry Georgian principle, because it was impossible to foresee the circumstances and conditions under which the desired tract of territory would become attainable—if, indeed, it would become attainable at all in a world ruled by unreason and the sword. In the motto of the old Flemish painter, "not as I would, but as I can." Our first business was to obtain a territory. For Fels the first business was to single-tax it. One could not know him for a day without discovering that to him Henry George was Moses, and "single-tax" all the law and the prophets. "A Calvinistic preacher," says Hazlitt, "would not relinquish a single point of faith to be the Pope of Rome." Fels would not sanction private property in land to be the President of the United States; taxation of land values was the medicine for all human ills, though when I once bantered him upon his persuasion that it was a panacea, he replied with a humor as characteristic as his fervor, "I don't say it will cure in-growing toe-nails." It was this humor that made him bearable even

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to the heathen who sware not by St. George, nor held the single-tax sacred. He spoke the American language with a fund of rich and racy locutions that recalled the pungent vitality of the early Mark Twain. They added—if anything could—to the radiation he gave of absolute sincerity, and were the joy of his audiences, public or private. "I love a fanatic," said Oscar Straus to me after an hour of Joseph Fels, with whom he disagreed profoundly. But Joseph Fels was loved in despite of his fanaticism as well as on account of it.

An Angel of Many Causes

NOR did his fanaticism prevent his co-operation in other causes, though it prevented his absorption in them. He was interested in the Woman Question, and played a useful part in bailing out suffragettes, male or female. He was of similar service in the Tchaikowsky and other troubles in Russia—indeed, in an age when money is so rarely forthcoming at the call of the spirit, though it can be had in sacksful for causes of recognized respectability, Fels filled a rôle in which it is not easy to replace him. He was the universal provider, the financier of the unprofitable, the philanthropic publicist, the handy-man of the social revolution, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Bohemia. He advertised his soap, Fels-Naptha, in papers chosen not for their circulation but for their lack of it; sweet are the uses of advertisement. He commissioned a single-tax play; sculptures were dumped in his drawing-room.

I once calculated with him the annual income necessary for rescuing from the toils of poverty all the unrecognized geniuses of the day—the toll was not alarming. The people who count are easily counted. The prophets, poets, and painters, the thinkers and teachers of the world, could be supported by the State at the annual cost of one shell sent on its mission of destruction from a seventeen-inch gun. It is a splendid opening for a small capitalist. Fels actually did subsidize geniuses of various sorts, much as Wedgwood subsidized Coleridge: possibly also charlatans. I had the sense of his being surrounded by wild-cat schemes and schemers, as well as by men splendidly devoted to himself and the common cause. Less directly he subsidized scribes, especially of the single-tax species. A book on the creed, or in its spirit, he would buy up and circulate by the hundred. It is an example that as an author I warmly commend. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* he of course distributed by the bushel as a missionary distributes Bibles. In my own capacity as a heathen savage I received two copies inscribed, "It is to learn." I never got a letter from him but was surcharged with tracts, mottos, and verses. He was my bulkiest correspondent; no doubt others too received his tuition by correspondence. As he appraised men by their soundness on the single-tax

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and despised some of my most admired friends, his patience towards me must have been the missionary's hope of his prey. Unless it was that his interest in the Jewish question was far deeper than he admitted even to himself.

His Service to the I.T.O.

HE would have called the I.T.O. one of his side-shows, but he never wilfully missed a committee meeting or a public gathering, and his speeches upon our platform were not infrequent. But though he never neglected the opportunity to propagate the single-tax, he could not have entertained more than a shadowy prospect of propagating it practically through a Jewish State, and if his purse was the first to open to our necessities and the last to close, it could only have been because of his increasing perception of the Jewish tragedy. He contributed liberally to the expenses of our investigation of Cyrenaica under Professor Gregory, and in his eagerness to hear the results he accompanied me to Folkestone to meet the returning expedition, and keen was his disappointment to learn that that vaunted land was practically a dangerous desert (as the Italian Imperialists who burked our report have since found to their cost). And when it looked as if Portugal in her fear of German grabbing would concede Angola, or a stretch of it, for Jewish colonization, the new expedition would not have been able to set out at all had Fels not generously advanced half the initial outlay.

Nor was he by any means a passive committeeman. More than once he tried to hustle a world that is not to be hustled, to poke up Colonial statesmen, to interview business men. His greatest feat on our behalf was his journey to Mexico to obtain a concession of territory from President Diaz. That great if not good man was more than willing to facilitate a large immigration of Jewish industrial and commercial workers, but did not welcome the idea of a special territory upon an agricultural basis. It has just transpired that thirty years ago Diaz himself sought to attract a large Jewish colonization, and that he was even willing to pay the expenses of a scientific commission to investigate his offer. Our Organization was not then in existence to educate the Jews on the necessity of a national home if they wished to survive, and this, like many another chance in Canada and Australasia, was let slip. History does not go back on itself, and the I.T.O., like Germany, began to feel it had come too late.

At one time Fels thought that a tract in Paraguay, which he had secured for the purpose of obtaining an ingredient of his Fels-Naptha soap, might afford the nucleus of the desired development while the extracting of this ingredient would afford employment to pioneer immi-

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grants, and help the early stages of colonization. It was a scheme that would have made both of his ends meet. I remember a long council-meeting at his house with his Paraguay agents, when we worked out the details, but Paraguay, already the scene of so many fantastic and socialistic experiments, has hitherto remained immune from ours. Latterly, Fels became enthusiastic for a Mesopotamian scheme, which I had publicly broached, but his zeal for which owed perhaps more to Zionism, and most to his wife's intuition in its favor, an intuition, he told me proudly, that had never been at fault.

Helping to Mend Human Misery

SO far, indeed, was he beguiled into side-excursions from the high road of the single-tax that he joined the department of the I.T.O. founded to regulate emigration in view of needs that could not await the foundation of a State. The gravitation of the Jewish masses to New York and the Eastern cities of America had produced an unhealthy congestion, and to avoid the slums and competition of these self-made Ghettos, our Emigration Regulation Department set about educating the Russian masses, in the words of Horace Greeley, to "go West." They were to enter by Galveston—a port utterly unknown in the Pale—and thence to be distributed over the immense region west of the Mississippi.

Of the London Committee constituted to supervise this deflection of the human current, Joseph Fels was an original member. The Committee sat in the historic building of the Rothschilds in St. Swithin's Lane, and Mr. Leopold de Rothschild acted as Honorary Treasurer. To Fels this alliance with the high priesthood of capitalism was something like a pill, but he swallowed it bravely in view of the importance of the work. When by an unconstitutional caprice of the immigration authorities at Washington, a large batch of brawny immigrants was rejected at Galveston on the plea of "poor physique," and I travelled across the North Sea to meet the unhappy victims deported from Ellis Island, men who had sold off their homes in Russia and were now thrown back upon Europe, penniless, Fels accompanied me to Bremen and worked many hours with me at the task of mending all this superfluous man-made misery. He also hunted up a photographer to prove how many muscular giants the party contained, and as the emigration building—*Stadt Warsaw*—held likewise numerous other Jewish transmigrants, including half a hundred children, Fels had all the little ones photographed in a group—splendid population-stuff for the States they looked—and he bought up all the sweets in the establishment for them. But then children were always a weakness of his. "If I had a boy like yours," he said, rebuking my paternal stoicism, "I should want to have him by me all the time."

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Bearding Lord Rothschild

FELS would not have been Fels if he had not taken advantage of the contiguity with the late Lord Rothschild to seek an interview with the uncrowned King of Jewry; not, needless to say, in any courtier spirit, but in the spirit of Catherine of Siena bearding the Pope at Avignon, or an early Quaker lady setting out to convert the Grand Turk. Whether the vices of capitalism or the virtues of the single-tax formed the main object of this mission I never quite understood. But, knowing both my men, I had no felicitous augury of the result. For Lord Rothschild was brusque, deaf, and despotic, and Fels cheery and irrepressible. The meeting was, I gathered, brief. Lord Rothschild generally secured the last word by leaving the room abruptly, and it is unlikely that he failed to apply this skilful dialectical method on this occasion. What is certain is that Fels's opinion of peers, never very tropical, fell below freezing point. There was hardly anybody he could not call comrade or brother, but I suspect that his sense of camaraderie stopped thenceforward at Lord Rothschild.

His notion of true manhood had been formed at the feet of his Philadelphia neighbor, Walt Whitman, and it was probably "the good gray poet" that inspired the general enthusiasm for humanity, for which Henry George provided the special conduit. The reading of *Progress and Poverty* was the turning-point in his life. It was a conversion, a finding of salvation, in the fullest meaning of these terms. Thenceforth he had a creed by which to live and die. For, of course, he did not see the single-tax like a Chancellor of the Exchequer hailing a fruitful fiscal expedient, but like Abou ben Adhem (may his tribe increase!), who loved his fellowmen, and like Don Quixote, out to charge against a monstrous wrong. Henry George had in fact more to give than a dry, economic device; he was a dynamic emotional impulse against evil, a prophet even in the minor sense of predicting. Nor was his intellectual contribution to political economy at all negligible. It was concrete and business-like, or it would not have carried away a keen business man like Fels, who had his Sancho Panza side and when another business man tried to best him felt the original sin in him leap like a tiger to the fray, much as the hero of *Les Affaires Sont Les Affaires* bristled for business-combat even over the body of his only son. The creator of Fels-Naptha was the last man in the world to be carried away by soft soap.

Land really is—how can one deny it?—man's indispensable standing-ground; no nebulous but a very solid basis for an economic philosophy. That this national necessity should be in private hands is clearly discordant with our communal thinking. (Even Stonehenge has been sold, as if so historic a stone mystery could be subject to the whim of a proprietor

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—in Italy or any civilized country it would be a "national monument.") That land should be taxed peculiarly—or even taxed away without compensation—is a proposition not altogether indefensible. But Fels went much further. He had so convinced himself that private land-ownership was the sin against the Holy Ghost, and the taxation of land and all the values inherent and involved in it took on so many aspects to his imagination, that he beheld all life enriched and ameliorated by the unflinching application of his golden rule. Avenues and perspectives innumerable opened up to his vision, and with almost perverted ingenuity he would trace every social evil to its root in the monopolization of land values. Possibly that impassioned passage misled him in which the Master cries out: "It is this that turns the blessings of material progress into a curse. It is this that crowds human beings into noisome cellars and squalid tenement houses; that fills prisons and brothels; that goads men with want and consumes them with greed; that robs women of grace and beauty of perfect womanhood; that takes from little children the joy and innocence of life's morning."

"Land and Liberty!"

THE single-tax is after all only a fiscal expedient which would lessen the financial burdens of the poor, and even if it increased production and thus diminished poverty, positively as well as negatively, poverty is, alas! only one of the many roots of human misery, and were all the prisons, brothels, ugly women and blighted children due to it eliminated, I can imagine them all co-existing—if in smaller numbers—with comparative comfort. It was not poverty that Sodom and Gomorrah suffered from. Still Poverty is such a Giant Despair that to despatch him at a stroke would be an achievement so massive that the single-taxers need hardly put their claim higher.

But their cause suffers from under-statement as well as over-statement, for "land-values" is an unfortunate term which to the vulgar connotes mostly rent or price per acre, whereas to the true single-taxer it means likewise rent or price for tramway, railway, lighting, cable, or other concessions, and the automatic tapping by the community of these and whatsoever other potentialities of profit are created less by the initiative of the individual than by the accretion of the population, no unit of which has earned the increment arising from the aggregation. It is a concept not easily distinguishable—in this enlarged form—from Socialism proper. But Fels drew the line at Socialism, though he shared its spirit. In view of the redemptive efficiency of the single-tax, he thought it superfluous. In the words of the Master: "All that is necessary to social regeneration is included in the motto of those Russian patriots, sometimes called Nihilists—'Land and Liberty!'"

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If I occasionally rallied him on his formula-of-all-work, I was none the less aware that it is only the one-eyed who accomplish anything in the world of action, and that Argus with his hundred eyes proved hopelessly inefficient at his one job of watching. If the epithet "one-eyed" displeases, let it be replaced by "single-eyed," which carries the meaning with more dignity. Fels had no eye, for example, for the sentimental side of land, the emotional value of a meadow or an orchard to a family; to such artistic beauties as inhere in the feudal system of great estates he was blind. Burke, according to Hazlitt, thought it as absurd to reduce all mankind to the same insipid level as to destroy the inequalities of surface in a country for the benefit of agriculture and commerce. Fels thought inequalities that diminished agriculture and commerce, not picturesque, but criminal. The great landed aristocracy of England was anathema. The English ideal of isolation was antipathetic to his American passion for foregathering. The more people enjoying and subdividing a piece of land, the merrier. What right had you to cling to an old family garden, if laborers lacked land for their cottages or the villagers plots for their potatoes? That there were imponderable land-values, by which society benefited, even though immaterially and indirectly—as through the poems and pictures and thoughts they inspired—he would not admit. There was something of an inverted Gradgrind in this remorseless pursuit of happiness for the million.

Experiment and Achievement

NOR did he allow sufficiently for the fact that the gospel of Henry George arose in a late and sophisticated period of civilization, when the first efforts to break in an intractable earth had already been made, and land had ceased to have its original relation with pioneer labor. It so happened that the Jewish Territorial Organization brought him into contact with the phase of the problem that Henry George had overlooked. But even the fact that the I.T.O. did not consider Cyrenaica worth the cost of cultivation or irrigation did not alter his sense that its land-values should be taxed. In the pioneering stage of land-development the increment is by no means unearned; it is hard-earned by danger, initiative, and capital. That at a later stage the landlord, especially in growing cities, receives a fat and disproportionate increment is a separate question, but once land has been treated as private property, transferable like any other form, society can only gradually undo what it has done.

Fels learnt no lesson either from the failure of his Essex experiment, "Maylands," which struck me, when I visited it, as a melancholy and expensive refutation of his theories of the small cultivator and the converted townsman. Farming is, in fact, an expert occupation, and the

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value of land *qua* land is absolutely *nil.* In Canada you may still have 160 acres for nothing or, rather, in exchange for your pioneer labor.

On the other hand, Fels did splendidly practical and successful work by his Society for the Cultivation of Waste Spaces—of which I was an otiose and absent-bodied member. That is an enterprise which, started long before the war, found imitation in more than one of the belligerent countries, anxious about the food-supply. And, of course, in estimating his practical achievements one must not forget that Fels-Naptha has lightened washing-day in a million homes.

"Restoring His Profits to the World's Service"

IF Fels owned much to Walt Whitman, and more to Henry George, he had his own spiritual power welling up from his own racial founts. For was he not of the race whose prophet taught land-nationalization three thousand years before Henry George, and whose teachers had risen —even before Jesus—from the brotherhood of Israel to the thought of the brotherhood of the nations? It is not without significance that Christians pronounced him the best Christian they had ever known. He and I had a good chuckle together over the correspondent who wrote to the papers to ask what was the good of Mr. Joseph Fels trying to bring the land to the people, when alien Jews were battening upon Britain? He himself knew no blank page between the Old and New Testaments, regarding the spiritual tradition as continuous, and doubtless at the bottom of his soul he believed it was a single-taxer that drove the money changers out of the Temple. And, in truth, did not Jesus say he was come to fulfil the law of Moses, not to destroy it? We know as a fact that the jubilee provision of the Mosaic land-laws had always been evaded.

But Fels had none of the other-worldliness which often adulterates earthly goodness. He had no wish to "lay up treasure in heaven." He had no conception of future reward—even future life had been left by Henry George as a mere hope—but he wanted to see heaven here below. He wanted to see with his own eyes the Kingdom coming nearer. Post-mortem philanthropy was his abhorrence. His money must be spent here and now; indeed, it was only his in the sense that he had the responsibility of its spending. To denounce himself as a capitalist, fattening on the labors of his fellow-men, was no rhetorical figure or sensational trick. While not unconscious of the humor of his situation and even with a certain whimsical enjoyment of the disconcertment of other members of his firm, he had a genuine conviction of sin, which could be cancelled only by restoring his business profits to the world's service. He was stained with the crime of capitalism—he was grubby with earth privately owned

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—why should he not use his soap to wash himself clean? Hence it was that he reduced his personal expenditure to a minimum, eschewing, for example, Pullman carriages and motor-cars, and riding third class or in omnibuses. True, he was far less rich than the rumor of him, but then his donations were so large, his feat in financing the single-tax movement in so many countries so unique, that people, never guessing he was giving to his utmost, thought his gifts were mere crumbs from the millionaire's table. They more nearly represented the millionaire's meal. The millionaire, in fact, was a myth, and even a bit of a fraud. "The more I give, the more they think I've got," he said to me once with a droll twinkle. The more he gave the less he had, and he would quite cheerfully have gone to the workhouse to ensure that the land it stood on should revert to the people.

But if his was not the charity that gives away what it does not want, neither was it the charity of checks. "You cannot give money and not yourself," he said. What he gave in time and work, in self-consuming zeal, was even more than he gave in money. No journey was too great to make for his ideal. He would have travelled to Tibet to educate the Grand Lama, or unflinchingly addressed Icelandic audiences in Americanese. Nor was his the charity that breeds charity. He hated subscriptions to perpetual palliatives, donations that pauperized and not redeemed. Even the propping up of art and artists began to appeal less to him when he realized that his money scarcely sufficed for his central mission. The Apostle became jealous of the Maecenas, and the only time I ever saw him fly into a passion was against himself. The thought that he was letting his pockets be plucked at from every side threw him into a sudden rage. One had to support ideas, not individuals. The ideas would ultimately support the individuals. A distich conveying this moral was one of his favorite enclosures.

An Honored Prophet at Home and Abroad

NEVERTHELESS, Joe Fels was no lover of abstractions. He was always surrounded by individuals, not all of whom clung to him for support, though he rendered friendly services to them all, from *prime donnes* to professors, from musicians to Labor Members or *masseurs*. Guests of every nationality, especially the Bohemian, and embracing equally poets and lady laundresses, millenarian meat-packers, and vegetarians, you would always find at his house in Regent's Park—indeed, he never seemed to "live unto himself alone." And with his erratic habit of dragging one home to eat and sleep, he must have had in Mrs. Fels a housekeeper, as well as a hostess, of genius. But all his motley guests were made into one happy family, and there was always more than enough to

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eat, if not always enough to sleep on. All the men were his brothers and all the women his sisters, and the atmosphere of an early Christian agapemone pervaded these meals, eaten as if in communion.

These guests of his included some of the most distinguished persons of our time, and it is no small tribute to his fascination that with only a moderate equipment of education, with no graces of breeding, and the handicap of a soap-business, he was able to attract so many diverse personalities. It was the moral core of the man, the passion of faith, which raised him to equality with them, nay, that made them his inferiors, and sometimes his conscious inferiors. Members of Parliament acknowledged his force and leadership. He had confabulations with Cabinet Ministers. He inspired a band of workers in a dozen countries. He was received in Spain with the honors of a prophet, nor was he without honor even in his native America. Persons who spend huge sums to uplift themselves socially may note with envy at how small a money-price it is possible to become a world-figure, if advertisement is the last thing you are thinking of. "To how few of those who sow the seed," writes Henry George wistfully, "is it given to see it grow, or even with certainty know that it will grow." Joseph Fels was one of the fortunate few. His death was sadly premature, but in his comparatively brief span he set in motion historic influences, and he saw them begin to modify history. And he enjoyed his success. "I am having the time of my life," he told me, when the movement began to hum and his business partners to be wroth. Wherein the devotees of enjoyment may read another lesson. But Mill has already pointed out the paradox that happiness comes not to the wilful hunter, if, indeed, it had not been pointed out long before in Galilee.

"Brave Faith Has Not Lived in Vain"

OF his domestic happiness it is not for an outsider to speak. But it may be recorded without indiscretion that he once said to me: "I saw my wife first when she was a very young girl, and I made up my mind there and then that I would marry nobody else." The two were cousins, but it is curious that they should have found each other so unerringly, for, though equally rare souls, they were supplementary rather than similar. I remember a period at which Mrs. Fels was not unreservedly a devotee of the single-tax—Female Suffrage, I imagine, ranked higher. But I remember no time at which Mr. Fels was not unreservedly a devotee of Mrs. Fels. When he parted with her in Piccadilly—to meet two hours later in Regent's Park—he took farewell as if her omnibus were a liner bearing her across the seas. It was an inspiring instance of his delicate instinct, to make her the sole and unconditioned beneficiary of his estate. All-absorbing as his passion for land-nationalization was otherwise, he

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did not feel it had the right to absorb her. But here as often love and wisdom were one, and the abnegation of his cause proved the road to its continuance.

That he died when he did, in the flush of his hope and his happiness, and did not live to see all the dreams of the ages mocked by a senseless and ineffably ghastly war, is no tragedy, so far as he was concerned. We may even rejoice that he was spared to see the sinister fulfilment of the prophecy of the Master: "The civilized world is trembling on the verge of a great movement. Either it must be a leap upwards, which will open the way to advances yet undreamed of, or it must be a plunge downward, which will carry us back toward barbarism." To live to see the grimmer alternative would have been agony to this man of fellow-feeling. But for the world it is tragic to be bereft of him at a moment when it needs every glimmer of optimism and aspiration. And for his friends life would have been a little less dark, had we still the sustainment of his sunny camaraderie, his indomitable idealism, his breezy pugnacity, his lovable laughter. By what strange prescience was it that Henry George prefixed to the concluding chapter of his Gospel a stanza that might have been written for the passing of his chief disciple?

"The days of the nations bear no trace
Of all the sunshine so far foretold;
The cannon speaks in the teacher's place—
The age is weary with work and gold
And high hopes wither, and memories wane;
On hearths and altars the fires are dead;
But that brave faith has not lived in vain—
And this is all that our watcher said."

Israel Zangwill

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The Pictures of Abel Pann

By I. K. Friedman

I. K. FRIEDMAN, distinguished as the author of the volume of short stories, "Poor People," was born in Chicago in 1870, and pursued his education at the Universities of Michigan and Chicago. He has traveled extensively in the Orient as a newspaper correspondent. In addition to "Poor People," he is the author of "The Lucky Number," "By Bread Alone," "The Autobiography of a Beggar," and "The Radical."

I STUMBLED on the pictures of Abel Pann in much the same way as Columbus stumbled on America, unawares and while on the search for something else—which constitutes ever one of the chief delights of discovery. It was while I was wandering through the rooms and corridors of the Chicago Art Institute that the works of Abel Pann burst on me in their full, sombre glory and took complete possession of me.

The walls, crowded with those small canvases, were vocal. The pogrom of a whole people was going on under my very eyes. Israel, torn and rent by the Russian lords of war, was crying out unto its own Lord and there was none to hear. Nay, this modern artist, whoever he might be, had heard; and he was carrying its cry for help, pity, and mercy into the wide world. Those pictures, drawings and sketches, hot from the brush, the crayon and the pencil, were more than pictures. They were documents. And they were more than documents. They were indictments, poignant and terrible!

What pictures! They formed an unending procession of a people stripped bare of all that makes life decent and possible, deprived of the last rag and denied of the last morsel, uprooted, their miserable homesteads shattered, and driven afar, whither they knew or cared not, by the knouts, muskets and sabres of the Cossack.

A Sorrowful Procession

HERE is not one wandering Jew, but thousands—families, groups, clans, village on village of people scattered, with as little warning as mercy, and tossed like bleeding flesh to the ravenous elements. Children of all ages, patriarchs, matrons, maidens, young men, artisans, rabbis, merchants, drag themselves before you in an expatriation that for its savagery and cruelty has no parallel save possibly the expulsion from Spain to which the mind in a cooler moment reverts for a comparison.

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But the Spanish expulsion had no Pann and we can do no more than to construct the picture from the dust-covered records of the archives, while this expulsion of our own day has been painted for you by an artist of high order. The illusion he creates is perfect. The medium, such is the supremity of his craft, disappears, and what you seem to see is the thing itself and not the painted picture of it.

His imagination is a force, and, like a force, dynamic and inexhaustible. His mind seethes, surcharged with pity for the degradation of his people, and it pours out pell-mell, without apparent effort or premeditation, this host of moribund figures that hobble past us to join the procession he has set in motion. It will wind on and on, one thinks, until all eternity, calling Israel to its colors in firmer union than the prayerful Marseillaise of the synagogue—"Hear, O Israel, the Lord, thy God, is One!"

Mayhap—and so one rather would think—the lamentation will change into a song of triumph and the awful journey along the *via dolorosa* end amid the hills of Jerusalem, whither Pann, himself an ardent Zionist, would direct his people and whither, if I mistake not, he now travels.

The Unconquerable Soul of Israel

NOR is this a reflection that steals into mind after I had met Pann and talked with him about his beliefs and hopes. No, it is born of the minute and breathed forth by something that it best suits my purpose to call the soul of these pictures. It rises above those bleak and drab horizons, above this welter of carnage, of human misery, torture and temporary despair, and descends to us like the song of a lark that has risen above the woes of earth to carol at the opening gates of heaven.

But, more definitely, what is this soul? It is the soul of Israel! In its essence it is unconquerable. It lies crushed before you, as it has been crushed again and again in its Odyssey through the ages, but it will rise defiantly again, as it has risen again and again before. The Lord, for reasons unfathomable, hears not now, but He will hear anon the lamentations of His chosen children.

Such is the message of faith, of dogged hope, of doleful triumphs that wells from this field of a battle in which the defeated, outnumbered and deprived of all means of defense, have been pillaged, outraged and tortured—a field suggestive of battle instead of slaughter only because here good and evil have come to grips and the good somehow has triumphed.

And the touches by which that triumph expresses itself is one of the achievements of Abel Pann. It is conveyed by the light on the faces, turned heavenward, of his martyred old men; it gleams, a consecrated

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light behind filmy curtains, in the eyes of those who faint and totter towards the outstretched hands of merciful death. Such is the quality, elusive as it is subtle, that makes those grisly pictures bearable.

The Artist's Lack of Bitterness

AS DANTE could boast that the exigencies of the *terzarima* could not betray him into uttering what he had not in mind, so Pann might boast that no technical difficulty could prevent him from putting on those small, crowded but never overcrowded sketches the horrors he wishes to bring to light. Horror is piled on horror, deliberately, calmly, with an impartiality for which one turns to the camera for a comparison and yet with a sympathy and a gift for dramatic selection that wrecks the comparison no sooner than it suggests itself. It is the sure hand of the artist, so sure of nothing amid this débâcle of the humanities as of his own soul and his mission. For what is most marvelous in this stupendous indictment is its absolute lack of bitterness. It is all set down without malice. The facts, damnatory and curdling, are presented accumulatively and made to tell their own story. The personality of the artist—the source of his inspiration and the determining factor of his style—broods over his pictures like the atmosphere in which they are enswathed, as the soul of Rembrandt brooded lovingly over his characters of the Ghetto of Amsterdam. And yet that personality is never obtruded. It is at once everywhere and nowhere. One cannot, as we say, put one's finger on it. Hence, despite the gruesomeness of the theme, the admirable restraint of the collection, the absence of bad temper and the telling of the story by its own incidents as they go on unfolding and unfolding.

Life and the world, it is made evident by these very war pictures, consist of more than cruel facts and poignant "reality." After all, war and pogrom are but passing phases in our restless, ever changing existence. They are but the dust and blood stains on the face of the mirror through which the true artist glimpses eternity. The havoc and the misery shall cease as they began and in the mouth of the cannon the lark one day may nest. What remains fixed and eternal is the dream and the vision, and to Abel Pann, at once realist and romanticist, a keen observer of the life of today and a mystic lover of the Book in which the traditions of his race have been immortalized, Israel is of a piece with eternity.

Hence in this exhibit of his work, consisting of some 150 paintings, pastels, drawings, etchings and lithographs—a work taken in toto that gives you his conception of life—the frenzy ends abruptly, as at a given moment, the wail of the forsaken ceases, and peace, quiet and serenity enfold the artist's world like the garments of eternity.

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The Dreamer and the Poet

FOR me, looking back with the eyes of memory on that exhibit, the moment of change came with a chance glance on a further wall of Mr. Pann's "Heder Boy," his arms laden with books, as he pauses on his way to school, his clumsily shod feet turned slightly inward, to gaze dreamily at some trivial incident in the life of his Ghetto. Those books, like the side curls of the orthodox that hang below his round woolen cap, carelessly pushed back, bind him to tradition and the past. Moreover, his mind is absent. He is not intrigued by what he sees. The eyes of that small, plaintive face, old beyond its years, are turned inward. He shrinks shyly, as if the brutal and sordid environment in which an accident in the dispersion of his race had placed him, were too much for his budding intelligence.

But what does he see? It may be that his mind, saturated with Jewish legend and lore, is held in thrall by one of those visions that glimmer on the walls of the room beyond and are seen in the distance, like impalpable landscapes that blend with the gray-white tones of a mirage in which they are suspended.

It is the work of Pann the dreamer and the poet. Here as it were he shuts the door on the grimy world of fact and locks himself in with dream and tradition. The two are not so far apart as might seem at first blush. In fact they are inextricably involved. For tradition belongs to myth and fable, and puts the golden age of the race in the past, while dream forecasting utopia, perhaps in the guise of Zion recreated, shifts a golden age to the future. At any rate the traditions of his race have laid a light and healing, rather than a heavy and blighting, hand on Pann, stirring in him the most abiding sentiment by which he lives and creates—the love of his people.

Pann the Humorist

BUT as you walk through the short corridor that unites the work of Pann the realist to Pann the dreamer you are arrested by the work of still another—Pann the humorist. It comes, directly after one has left those scenes of palpitating tragedy, with a mild shock of surprise, as if one were a little too dull to suspect that humor was a gift in Pann's arsenal and he had wronged our egotism by thus pulling it out on us. And yet it is quite as it should be, for humor is the reverse of tragedy, and to the soul that has acquired surety from discipline and gazes down on life as from the heights, ointment and balm for the wounds that tragedy inflicts. Abel Pann laughs with the best of them, with Daumier and Gavarni, for his humor is the pointed, satirical humor of the Frenchman, acquired as one might say in their school of laughter, although

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his thrusts are not nearly so truculent as those of the unreckoning Daumier nor anything like so cruel as those of the unsparing Gavarni.

Pann might have become a professional caricaturist of the first rank if he had cared to let himself be hobbled in the field through which he so casually wanders. I recall "The Guide" in particular. The guide in this case is none other than one of those forlorn, half-starved, ill-kempt idlers that haunt the porticos of the Louvre and offer for a stray franc to acquaint the tourist, at a pace proportionate to the price, with the treasures under its roof. This time the poor cicerone has caught a whole party—a party that Pann catches, too, for our amusement at an opportune moment in their pilgrimage, undertaken from a sense of duty rather than devotion to the shrine of art. They are, save the guide himself, who is listlessness more petrified than personified, in every attitude of stark boredom, their cant discovered and their shabby intellectual inwards laid on the dissecting table. The satire, not without its note of pathos, lies in the wide discrepancy between the wealth of entertainment spread before the groundlings and their total incapacity to reach forth and take it.

In so far, with a little digging under the surface, "The Guide" is anecdote, but in its admirable handling of space, tone and atmosphere it is a true work of art, painted with a quick, free brush from an unhackneyed palette. Each figure in it is a person and each person, one feels, has had a biography that began before he stepped into the perspective.

His Ripest Work: The Biblical Pictures

THERE are other objects of the sort—"At the Dentist," "At the Photographer's Studio," and "Risque de Metier." These one would like to consider at length, but the Biblical pictures still beckon beyond, and then too by over-emphasis I run the risk of giving these humoresques more importance than would the artist, to whom perhaps in the spacious edifice of his achievements they represent gargoyles rather than pillars or arches.

And here I enter what is strictly and properly speaking Abel Pann's sanctum. By the canvases that adorn it, I make bold to presume, he would rest his chief claim to the title of artist. It is here that hang the ripest fruits of his most thoughtful, leisurely and serious accomplishments, not excepting even his landscapes of France and the Orient on which I meant to pass comment but forgot. They were crowded out, not because they are negligible but by reason of the throng of thoughts that rush to mind when I recall that exhibit to memory. There is so much and so many sides of it to consider and one would fain do justice to them all in the space allotted.

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As I pointed out concerning the war pictures, from battle-front to pogrom, the lurid and the atrocious are but temporary phases, and the painter of them, like the author of a tendency novel or play, runs the risk of being forgotten when the conditions on which he has focused his powers cease to exist. He may be buried under the débris left in the wake of the social changes that he has helped to speed. Not so the dream and the vision!

And to dream and vision Abel Pann has given what is best, finest and noblest in him. He has tapped without stint all of his resources, however much his art may have hidden from us any telltale signs of strain or effort. All seems lyrical and spontaneous, evoked in a gush by the passages from the Bible by which they were inspired, and done at a sitting.

No longer does he confine himself to the narrowest possible scale of colors, to black and brown, black and white, as is notable in the case of his war pictures. Instead he combines boldly and lavishly all the rich colors of his broad palette. The opulent light of the Oriental sun streams from them. Dealing no longer with fact and no longer held in leash by the conscience of the literal historian, he gives his imagination a free rein in the field that is his by a kind of right of eminent domain.

"The Call of the Primitive"

THE pristine world rising out of nothingness and chaos, created in six days by the hands of the awe-inspiring God that confronted Moses on Sinai, he sees with the fresh and naïve spirit of the nameless poets who gathered from the lips of the shepherd and the camel-driver around the watch-fires of the night those legends that were given literary form in the book of Genesis.

With the evocation "Let There Be Light!" he plucks our nascent world out of the darkness in which it has been immersed. It takes shape and significance before your eyes as it rises to completion, the impenetrable darkness is rent like a curtain, through which white rolling clouds burst jubilantly into a glorious pink. "And," as it was written and as Pann paints, "there was light!"

Again, with the same poetical response to the call of the primitive, he visualizes for us The Garden of Eden just after some twilight hour when color has stolen out of the world and the rapidly descending darkness will soon snatch form and substance from sight. Already the black shadows in the foreground are stealing over the silvery waters of the lake, on the edge of which stand the vague figures of Adam and Eve, discernible in the patch of light that still lingers in the west, caught as in a net between the trunks of the great trees which rise in the fore-

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ground and whose branches and foliage fill the higher planes of the picture. They gaze westward, awed by the miracle of oncoming night, divining perhaps the spirit of evil that is to wreck their paradise, so deeply absorbed that they are oblivious to the presence of the pair of swans gliding towards the cool black shadows of the lake and to the mated lions that have stolen out of the edge of the forest to wonder, too, at the handiwork of the Creator of all things. What escapes description is the atmosphere of the mysterious and the intangible that broods over this garden that never was, but which, none the less, so Pann's facile brush persuades us, easily might have been.

I should like to linger on the Cain and Abel, on the Hagar and Ishmael, but there are fifty pictures in this section of his collection and somewhere in these riches I must call a halt. However, since the artist will one day amplify these Biblical pictures into five hundred and publish them at a reasonable price in the form of colored lithographic reproductions, the reader will be able to pore over them in the privacy of his own library.

Summing up my impressions of the exhibit, I have but one regret. It seemed to me that the originality, the breadth of vision, and the scope of Pann's ideas merited greater space, a larger scale of execution than he has chosen to allot them. The size of a picture, I know, has nothing to do with its worth or excellence, but there does arise at times in the mind of the observer a certain incompatibility between the bigness of the painter's conceptions and the scantiness of surface in which, whatever his reasons, he so often has compressed them.

His Early Struggles and Successes

THE division I start now to make between the personality of Abel Pann and his pictures is purely one of convenience. It does not exist in fact. But, for one thing, I did not meet the artist until after I had seen his pictures, and, for another thing, I feared that whenever I began to treat picture and personality as one (which in reality they are) I would court the danger of confusing values and blurring outlines.

Before introducing you to Abel Pann himself it may be well to supply you with a little biographical data. He was born in Kreslavka, province of Dvinsk, Russia. He is the son of a rabbi and, had it rested in the will of his father, he would have followed the same career. Why it did not so rest and why at the age of twelve he found employment in the shop of a lithographer, are obvious enough. None the less you will have perceived the strict relation that lies between his heredity, his devout environment, and the traditions that became afterwards his sublimated stock in trade.

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A few years later he wanders, homeless and penniless, in Vienna, where he is arrested on the charge of vagrancy and deported to Odessa. He was still young, no more than about eighteen, and the impressions of that short, vagrom life remained in his consciousness to answer with a sympathetic voice instead of an involuntary echo the call of misery and wretchedness.

In Odessa he fights his way into the art school, wins medals and prizes by his talent, attracts the attention of the philanthropic Baron Ginzburg, and so is assisted to the studios of Bouguéreau and Toudouze in Paris. Curious masters, especially Bouguéreau of the pretty insipidities, for a pupil who is working out his own style by the light that shines in his own soul. However, the light turning into flame, he finds himself quickly enough, strikes out for himself on his own path and gains place on the walls of the Luxembourg for "The Peasant Woman." Then the chords that bind him to his race—and we have seen that they tap what is fundamental in him—are set to vibrating by the trumpet call of Zionism, and he is off to Jerusalem. Here he decides to remain as director of Bezalel School of the Arts, and returns to Paris to gather his possessions, when the war interrupts his program.

Nationalist and Cosmopolite

AS soon as he saw the hills of Jerusalem, he tells me, a feeling of at oneness with himself came over him; the restlessness that urged him onward dropped from him; he knew he had come to his own and home. Incidentally he adds that Paris is quite easily the second city of his choice, an admission that does not astonish me. His pictures have prepared me for this artist who has foresworn allegiance to cosmopolis to become, out of the force of sentiment and the ties of race, a nationalist.

And despite his adoption of Zion, it is as a cosmopolite that I think of him from the moment of our first meeting. Light of hair, eyes and beard, with not a feature that we have come in our stupidity and ignorance to call Jewish, he could pass for a member of a half dozen European races that would delight to claim him. At once he strikes you as a more serious and industrious member of the Quartier, who lives there because he likes its *bonhomie*, but who thinks in continental terms, no more bound by one bank of the Seine than the other.

Serenity is in those large eyes that gaze at you so inquiringly and frankly, and serenity is the mark of the high broad forehead, behind which his thoughts flow on placidly, casting up theme on theme. There is in voice, countenance and gesture no more trace of bitterness than in his war pictures. And as the elimination of bitterness from those documents was one of the masterly triumphs of the artist, just so is his poise

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a triumph of his character. He would be out of drawing and inconsistent if it were otherwise, for it is this quality in him that his pictures told us it would be our right to expect.

The war pictures, I remark, trying to find in those first awkward minutes a common ground on which we may stand, are a glowing tribute to the remarkably vivid powers of his memory. No, he contradicts softly, they were not memories at all. He witnessed none of these harrowing scenes. They were imaginatively constructed, a molten fusion of what he knew and felt with what he had learned from authentic sources. A prodigious feat surely, unrivaled in so far as I know or am able to judge.

The Saving Soul of Israel

OUR conversation drifts on and then settles finally on the position of the Jew in eastern Europe, and I ask if the unrelenting persecution of our people, an accepted political measure, will not lead inevitably to degeneracy of the race. He assures me to the contrary. There is in the Jew a certain something that will save him. They will survive, and in health. Take himself, for example. Against all obstacles, he suggests modestly, he has achieved and done a little that is significant.

"What is that certain something?" I am about to ask, but I check myself. I have just seen those war pictures and I know without asking. It is the soul of Israel, which is the soul of those pictures.

Elsewhere, let me add parenthetically, Pann has stated: "The Jew has a superior love for peace and justice, and that is why in his protest against injustice you will find less reference to the perpetrator of the unworthy act than to the act itself." Personally I am far from believing that this pronouncement will bear a close scrutiny or the weight of evidence, but just now and here that is of no consequence. It still remains strongly illuminative of the artist's spirit and execution.

Romanticist and Realist

OUR chat flits to the Biblical subjects and ends, if I remember, with his observation that he believes in the Bible only as a colossal repository of myth, folk lore, legend and story, which is again in fine consistency with the paintings that the text inspired. Indeed his pictures tell clearly enough his attitude of mind towards the Book. His point of departure, altogether different from that of the old masters, was not one of downright faith that attempts to portray realistically, as truth and fact, what the Scriptures reveal. For this religious acceptance admits of no trifling. The artist to whom the Bible is religion must take the incidents literally, transfer them on the canvas as faithfully as the nature

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of his genius will permit, and strive towards the end of making it appear that the thing is happening in his picture just as it was told in sacred writ. But Pann, a skeptical cosmopolite, treats the Bible as legend, and the legend as material with which his imagination has every right to play joyously. The result is a quality—a very beautiful quality—that ranges Pann on the side of the romanticists, whereas his war pictures and his humoresques would place him at once with the uncompromising realists.

In truth he is hard to classify. Nor do I think that he wishes any classification. For the last time I met him he expressed himself as being quite willing that all the schools should go their own way. They had his blessing, but his way was not theirs. On this occasion his way was in the direction of the Art Institute, whither he was going to superintend the removal of his pictures to another city, before, like himself, they should find a permanent home in the Bezalel School of Jerusalem. None the less I cannot help but wonder whether in the end Jerusalem or Paris will claim him as its own.

J. K. Friedman

"JERUSALEM"—BY ABEL PANN

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Concerning Jewish Art*

By Abel Pann

CERTAIN Jewish circles are preoccupied with the question of the existence of Jewish art. Many opinions are expressed about the subject. Some of them are in the affirmative, the most of them, indeed, are in the negative. But in the very fact of the possibility of a discussion of such a subject, it is easy to find the answer.

The difference of opinion about the existence of Jewish art is based on a misunderstanding. The great majority of people mix together *national art* and *schools of art*—two different things. Such an unhappy mixture confuses the question considerably. I will try my best to examine the problems and reach a conclusion.

* *

IT is well known that in the childhood of mankind every group, every place, had an instinct for ornamentation. They began with all kinds of jewelry from stones, metals, tatooages, etc. They decorated their weapons; they made ornamental cloths, furniture, and so forth. Later when mankind conceived the idea of superior beings above the world and man, it created images of its gods, erected temples, and covered the walls of the temples and palaces with mural decorations, describing their history, life, ideas. Men sculptured their kings and heroes.

The geographic and climatic conditions had their influence upon the life and tongue of every group. The general and special conditions of life left a particular mark on the development of their art. And so it happened that every people in ancient times expressed its ideas in an individual way.

*An address before the Graduate Menorah Society of Cincinnati.

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Every people had its own life and interests, its conceptions, its morals, its worship, its history and legends. And these things were expressed in forms—that is *national art.* Every group expressed these things in its own way—and the way in which it expressed them makes a *national school.* The old Egyptians expressed their life in their own manner. The Babylonians, the Greeks, the Romans—each had their individual life, lived under other skies and under other conditions. Each people had a special development and special needs. These varied conditions made such a variety in arts and schools possible.

* *

THE development of art and schools of art is closely connected with the development of the history of the nations as a whole. If the history of a people is normal, its art and schools of art follow a normal development.

The best illustrations are China and Japan.

Thousands of years of quiet historical development gave China and Japan the opportunity to develop their arts and schools to a very high degree. Their racial characteristics, geographical and climatic conditions and life generally have much resemblance; and their art and schools resemble each other too.

But to distinguish the differences in the art of the European peoples is a much more delicate task. We can easily explain the phenomenon by the fact that the communications between the European countries are frequent, and students from one European country come in contact with other European countries. And then, international exhibitions, art reproductions, etc., tend to make European art one unit.

Thus in the middle of the nineteenth century the Italian school had the hegemony. Later, the French school. The museums in Paris, Germany and Russia have many examples of them. The spirit of this art reflected the particular epoch of the age. But later came a reaction; the artists, like the poets and other social thinkers, found that this way of creation is wrong; and they went back to their national sources.

Many art connoisseurs, and also artists, like the phrase "Art is international"—but the majority of them do not understand exactly the meaning of the phrase. Most of them believe that this phrase signifies that no national distinction in art is desirable.

It is not necessary to discuss such an absurdity. "International" art is impossible. And if possible—would it be desirable?

Would it be desirable that all poetry should be alike; all philosophies; all manners; all music; all faces; all noses—even if they (the noses) would have the sweet design of the Irish noses, which are so appeal-

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ing to the Jewish soul. (About noses: I personally admit the right of a place in the sun even for a person with a Jewish nose. One day, maybe, I shall change the form of my too anti-Semitic nose into a Jewish one. I know the address of a good specialist who can do it. Such a strange desire will probably be the first in the annals of his practice.)

Indeed, if everything were alike, the world would be so monotonous that for myself I should prefer to go away to another world—even to the Gehenim, if I have not the right to the Gan-Eden.

* *

ART is international—yes; but in the sense that it must appeal to the entire world. It must be one of the flowers of the whole bouquet of art; and the more the individuality of a nation is expressed in its art the more interesting it is for everybody. No matter how great an artist may be, if he lacks a national spirit, his work is not complete.

The national spirit is the soul of a people.

When the tribes of Israel crossed the Jordan, they brought with other baggage a very peculiar kind-of thinking, peculiar conceptions and morals: a new understanding of right and justice, of freedom and god-hood. With this began a new era for the civilization of the entire world. The prophets expressed the soul of their people, and the Jewish sages and poets of the later centuries completed the formation of a pure Jewish thought and a distinctly national literature.

The whole of Jewish history is a continual miracle. The name of the god who made this miracle doesn't matter. We can give him many names without any of them being exactly the right definition. But one name, and a very definitive one, we can give him: and that is the *Jewish* God. (He made Israel; but Israel had conceived Him.)

So our history, our conceptions of things, our sufferance are unique. And when a Jewish artist expresses himself sincerely, he will reflect something specially Jewish in his work: he will create Jewish art. Such art will appeal necessarily more to the Jewish people; for it will be its own soul, it will be individual—and *comme tel* it will be new and attractive to the entire world.

That is what we call Jewish national art.

* *

AND what about a school of art?

As I said before, in the childhood of the various groups of human society, each group that had its own *manner* of expression was a school. It was the popular, national tongue for expressing ideas. And blessed is

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the nation whose history developed in a way to give it the possibility of such a harmony.

But not every nation has had a happy history. Our own history is the unhappiest in the world. The fates have stricken and still strike us every day of our existence without respite. The fates have driven us from one country to another, from one corner of the world to another, from one language to another. Our tragic history has been favorable to giving new conceptions of liberty and justice, and, *par conséquence*, Jewish art can be more expressive. On the other hand, this situation destroyed in its very beginning the Jewish school of art. The ground was taken away for the possibility of such a thing as a school.

The centuries after the destruction of our country, the wanderings of our people, and also certain prohibitions against creating works of art, have not been favorable to the development of art among us. Only in the last and present centuries have the Jews begun to play a rôle in the world of art—but not of their own art.

But if we have not played a rôle in plastic art until the last century, our poetry and literature and music played a great rôle in our historical life. They were national in a double sense. They carried on the ideas of the prophets; and the language of the Bible made for a national school.

In the turmoil of our existence, we were obliged to speak foreign languages, and a great many of our poets and philosophers created their work in other languages than Hebrew. They created in Greek, Arabic, German, Russian, etc. But their creations were national literature because of the spirit. If our national ideas are given expression in the tongue of our prophets then we shall have a national literature *and* a national school.

The most luminous example is our poet Bialik.

* *

SOME non-Jewish writers and artists have attempted to depict Jewish types and life. Is the result Jewish literature or art? It might be; but up to the present they haven't succeeded, for the simplest reason that they do not know nor feel Jewish life and the Jewish soul.

The author of Shylock, for instance, may never have seen a single Jew in his life. The Italian legend of such a Jew struck him so deeply that he created a masterpiece. The tradition of our Christian neighbors was such that they always chose a Jew for horrible deeds.

But Shylock is not a Jewish type at all. The Jew abhors blood. The picture of Shylock is also false from our neighbors' standpoint. Money, they tell us, is the highest ideal of the Jewish race. How, then, could a

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Jew refuse a lot of money for some vengeful satisfaction? Revenge is an article de luxe which was and still is too refined for the spirit and nature of the Jew. Above all, when the article is so expensive, it doesn't pay. But as regards the daughter of Shylock—that is another matter. Love isn't strange to a Jewish heart. Even Jews are able to sacrifice something for love. *Soit dit en passant*—if the Gentile writers, in their work, abhor the male Jews, the Jewesses are painted in the most sympathetic colors. It is a fact that the Jewish woman and Jewish money were never an abomination—even to the most refined anti-Semites.

The drama of "The Merchant of Venice" isn't Jewish literature. It is a drama with a Jew as a subject.

Orzcheshko, a Polish authoress, pictured Jewish life from the most sympathetic side; but the pictures are on the surface: she cannot paint the Jewish soul. It is too deep for an outsider. Even her descriptions are wrong. In one place she speaks of Friday evening when a Jew prays with a Talith and Tefillin—on Friday night!

The famous Russian painter Aivazowsky painted Jews at "Tashlich," at the river on Rosh ha-Shonah, with a Talith and Tefillin and a Torah!

The great Michel-Angelo created Moses as an Italian patrician.

Sargent painted the prophets as full-blooded Anglo-Saxons—most of them carefully shaved—some he permitted to have a beard. From the artistic point of view they are very fine; but the spirit is not Jewish.

Gustave Doré illustrated the Bible. He is a great artist in execution, and a poet. But a Jew would never paint God with a knife in his hand as he cuts the rib of Adam to create the charming but light-minded Eve. In general, Doré's Bible is a translation from the Hebrew into an old-fashioned French language.

James Tissot lived in Palestine for about fifteen years. His types are passable; the costumes true. But his Bible is as if it were written a few years ago—a contemporary story. It has not the poetry that the seal of distant times puts on the subject. From the artistic point of view some of the illustrations are very interesting. But the whole is an expression of a Christian conception, with the coldness of Protestantism.

The Bible, I think, is not a work for a Christian to illustrate. Only a Jew, in whose veins is transmitted the blood of them who created it, is able to paint the truth of this great Book.

* *

UNDOUBTEDLY, we have a Jewish art. But what about a Jewish school of art?

Schools begin with ornamentation of different objects such as jewelry, vases, weapons, furniture. Step by step individual forms and colors

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make their evolution and find their highest expression as architecture, sculpture and painting. The basis for the development of individual national art is primitive forms and colors.

When Professor Schatz conceived the idea of the Bezalel School in Jerusalem, his instinct or knowledge impelled him to erect a craft school. This is not only the basis on which to construct art, but materially art cannot exist without an art industry; they support and encourage each other.

The question is now: Have we individual Jewish forms and "colors"? I cannot be so optimistic as in the answer to the former question about a national art. We have something; yes. But it is very poor. However, we have brains and imagination. And those who have seen the first work of the Bezalel School are convinced that we need not despair.

When a number of Jewish artists will have settled under the blue Palestinian sky where the pure air and the life-giving sun seem able to inspire even a dead man; under the influence of the flowers and hues of the soil, the human types and costumes, the spirit of the whole country—something individual will be born under their brush and when a painting from a Palestinian artist will be shown somewhere, it will be recognizable that the work is by a Jewish artist—a complete work: Jewish in spirit and in form and in colors—both Jewish art and of a Jewish school.

* *

THE musician Ornstein, we are told, will make an appeal in THE MENORAH JOURNAL to Jewish artists to be true to their heritage. Judging by my personal experiences, and also by the experiences of other Jewish artists, Mr. Ornstein will make the mistake of addressing himself to the wrong party. I know a Jewish sculptor in New York whose interesting work is placed in the Metropolitan Museum and is much admired. A few months ago he destroyed, in exasperation, all of his Jewish work. What is the use, said he, nobody wants it—I will do the same that others are doing—at least, I will then have my daily bread. Another Jewish artist of Baltimore committed suicide. Nobody wanted Jewish art, and this artist wasn't able *not* to be a Jewish artist. I know many others whose life is a martyrdom, because they must remain Jews in their art. A stupendous illustration is the "Zimro" Ensemble. Six great artists dedicate themselves to spreading and developing Jewish music over the world. Their "Marche Triomphale" over Russia was characteristic of the Russian Jews. Then these artists covered a distance of fifteen thousand miles through Siberia, China, India to come to the promised land America. En route they collected a respectable sum of money for their plan to construct an art temple in Palestine.

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Characteristic it is also that the first disappointment they had was from the Zionist Organization of America. And excepting a few Russian Jews who helped them in one way or another, they met with disappointment after disappointment. All the other so-called "Russian" artists understood it to be to their interest not to put anything Jewish in their programs. Some of them decided to be even "Poles," but not Jews—it is too dangerous.

My own experience I do not care to talk about for the present. Some day, when the first album of my Bible is issued—and the day is not very far—I shall describe my experiences, my conversations and exchanges of letters with very prominent and, indeed, very good Jews in different American cities. These experiences made me very pessimistic. And often the question came also to my mind: "Who wants Jewish art?"

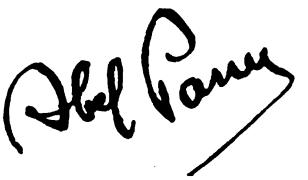
* *

IT is true that the Jews pay with fat compliments, warm handshakes, invitations to sugared tea parties, and even tender you *masse* banquets with nice speeches about the great importance of your dear personality for the Jewish people and culture. But that is all.

I know a Jewish artist whose exhibit was very much appreciated by the Gentiles in a certain city. If one is appreciated by Gentiles, the Jews begin to appreciate also. One day some rich Jewish people took him on a trip in their beautiful car to show him the Philadelphia wonders. He told me that he had in his pocket thirty-five cents, and he bought for the lady, his amiable cicerone, a bouquet of flowers for the thirty-five cents. Now he is all right—he is in a butcher store.

No, it is not necessary to appeal to the Jewish artists. It is to the Jews who are able to support Jewish art and do not do it that the appeal should be made. We have no authorities, no art society to encourage Jewish art. Individuals do not understand that an artist cannot be forever nourished with dreams and—compliments.

Will the Jewish public understand? My answer is a bit pessimistic.



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The Toiler

By Julius S. Hoffman

JULIUS S. HOFFMAN, whose promising career was sadly cut short by his recent death from heart failure, June 29, 1920, was born in New Orleans in 1896, and received his A.B. from Tulane in 1917, and his A.M. from Harvard in 1918. While at Tulane he won the Carnot, Latin, and Debating Medals, was editor of the college paper, and graduated at the head of his class. He was instructor in Mathematics at Harvard in 1919, and was teaching mathematics at Tufts College and pursuing graduate studies at Harvard at the time of his death.

I AM a hewer of wood and drawer of water,
A toiler drudging at an unending task,
The Temple of men's learning; whereof the base
Lies buried in the past, and whose tall spires,
Ever unfinished, cut the clouds to shreds;
So that a lifetime seems a little space,
And all great effort futile. Wherefore labor,
Grow pallid-faced and tired-eyed, traversing
Dim hallways centuries old with Aristotle,
Crescas, Maimonides, Ibn-Roshd, Halevi?
Wherefore shut out the throbbing present world?

Typewriter, fountain pen, electric lights,
A study in the Widener Library
Lined with great volumes richly bound: these things
You say surround me. But I am truly this:
A skull-capped bearded rabbi, with quill and parchment,
Seeking the truth by flickering candle-light
In some medieval cloistered synagogue.

Deep in old volumes I have learned to smile,
Watching the ebb and flow of human tide.
Even if I ventured forth, still in my spirit
I should be laughing as men jostled me,
At these and at myself for striving so.
I have for such a time with old books dwelt
That all the juice of life has been pressed out
As from some rose, closed in forgotten pages.

I have no part in all the busy street;
Yet sometimes, when the voices of the world
Drift faintly through the window of my room,
Sometimes I would I were, as other men,
Full of the cares and crudities of life.

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With all the ways of all men's lives in flux
I spent my days companionless, apart,
Pondering the meaning of an ancient phrase:
What meant the words that Aristotle spoke?
What grumbled Crescas at? What Hebrew thought
Lay hidden in Spinoza's gentile tongue?

And what the sum of this sequestered toil?
A musty tome perchance, on these great shelves
Utterly lost and overwhelmed; forgotten,
Save for the careless glance of passing students.

Here in my study sits the hard Taskmaster,
Stern cold impersonal duty, born of labor
Begun and uncompleted; urging, drawing
My eyes back from the window and the world.
For when I slacken at my unending task,
Mocking its sad futility, he sneers,
Saying, "O fool, in all this witless world
There is no better thing than what you do!"

Julius S. Hoffman

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Snow-Bound in Jerusalem

By Jessie E. Sampter

Author of "The Book of the Nations"

JERUSALEM is the city of adventure. Alone on its mountains—walled in from the world—it must always meet its fate alone. One expects the unforeseen.

And the unforeseen came in February, 1920, after a winter unusually stormy even for this stormy mountain top. We had had rain, wind, hail, lightning and cold. We had had a flurry of snow that scarcely reached the ground. On the evening of February ninth it began to snow heavily. By the morning of the tenth all the roofs and fields were white. By the afternoon a heavy wind had blown the snow in heaps. There were from four to six feet of snow. The windows were covered half-way. Frost flowers appeared on them, now in this season when the anemones, cyclamen and narcissus are already in bloom. And the falling snow, like a heavy cloud, shut out the distant hills.

I was already house-bound, convalescing from an illness. The sunshine had not tempted me as did this burst of white fury. I wanted to go out to share in the adventure. With all my love for this southern land—with my satisfaction in having left behind me the north, with its snow and ice, its biting cold and its slippery ways—something in me responded to the familiar scene. But though I could not go out, adventures came to me. And being snow-bound in Jerusalem was exciting enough even to one who was house-bound.

Strange Sights and Unaccustomed Burdens

BEHIND my house is a large field, which had already been ploughed and sown, and where the vegetables were putting up their first green spurs. Behind that field are two large Arab houses, yellow stone with red roofs, in the true tropical style. And one of them is a storehouse. During my days of convalescence I had taken pleasure in watching the camels with their Arab drivers come up to this spot and crouch there for their meals, giving forth their curious combination of moan and yawn, while their long-robed, ragged drivers disputed over wages with the rich owner in his long frock and fez. Curious it seemed to see those red roofs covered with snow, that haunt of the camels a white sheet.

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On the second day the storm was still wilder. Our house-maid, who sleeps at home, did not come. Neither did the milkman. All pitchers and jugs were empty of water. And we, spoiled creatures, depend for our water on the cistern under the house, which means that several times each day our little Yemenite maid has to pump and carry water. One of ourselves had to go down and fetch water, but not until the cover of the cistern had been cleared of snow. In the meanwhile we washed and drank most sparingly.

The school teacher who lives here went to his school, but returned within half an hour. All the teachers had been there, but only a handful of pupils came. And the teachers set to work digging out the school cistern, so that it should not explode with the weight of water. He went out again, as would any adventurous man. But most of Jerusalem is not venturesome—not in the face of the unaccustomed snow. The streets were empty and there was no one to clean them.

Another member of the family is a woman physician working for the American Zionist Medical Unit. The clinic which she supervises was not opened, but she was ready for all calls. She borrowed my high boots, took a cane and went out.

Jerusalem Awakens to Its Responsibility

ON the third day Jerusalem realized its responsibility as well as its plight—that is, responsible Jerusalem did. There was talk of houses falling. Our neighbor from below stairs came up with tales of the danger of bursting cisterns and flat roofs like ours when the snow lay heavy upon them.

The snow had stopped. The sun came out for a few moments in the morning, as it does almost always in Jerusalem. But soon heavy rains and winds furiously beat against the snow, as if to undo their own havoc. And now friends began to come in with tales of happenings in the world of snow, with fragmentary stories that made me impatient to go out with them to fight and to serve. All I can do is to record what others have done and what others have seen.

The Tragic Beauty of the Crown of White

THERE was the young American who came in, snow-covered, with tales of the Old City, where he is living, of the barefooted women struggling through the snow to get a loaf of bread, the little Arab boys, barefooted, stepping from the snow into a pool of water to warm their feet. And above all these little plights, the surpassing great beauty of Jerusalem in its unaccustomed crown of white; the sky-blue dome of the Mosque of Omar with a cloud of snow upon it; the Mount of Olives with all its

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silver-gray trees snow-clad; and the palm trees in the Old City with their tropic leaves heavy with the weight of snow.

So, too, the trees about my house, with their green leaves thick upon them, were plastered into statues by the thick white snow. But theirs was a tragic beauty. The heavy branches, swollen with their weight, were distorted and broken. Every garden had its bereavement. Trees fell, snapped off by the weight of snow and wind—trees, that are so precious in Jerusalem, that are so rare in our denuded land, trees that have taken years to grow, and have been fostered and nurtured like children. It was a calamity before which we felt helpless. One friend of mine climbed to her roof again and again throughout the day to clear the snow from the branches of her trees, but at night she heard those branches fall outside her window.

Now I have gone out and seen the havoc. A row of straight and orderly cypresses stands twisted with spaces between. Trees that hid houses with their foliage have disappeared, now giving a clear view of wall and tower. All I could do was to see and to record. The young American had more to do than watch. He came again a few days later—as did others of my friends—with tales of service and adventure.

Tales of Rescue and Adventure

THE engineers connected with the American Zionist Medical Unit and the Zionist Commission went to work to examine houses that were in danger. Where it was too late to help rescue those who had been caught under falling roofs, there was work for the doctors and nurses of the Unit—for every one. The school teachers—one of the most devoted and responsible groups of persons in all Jerusalem—went out to new labors. My Hebrew teacher, who teaches school all day at fourteen pounds a month and gives private lessons in order that his wife and his four little children may have enough to eat, told me of his adventures on that second day when he put on his high boots and went out to see whether he could not be of service. He went to the Zionist Commission for instructions. There he was given money to buy bread and Nestlé's milk, and he and three friends whom he met on the street—one of them a trained nurse—started together to the Yemenite houses, where people were snowed in with nothing to eat. They climbed over mountains of snow four to six feet high, went wet through and chilled to the bone all day long, shovelled out doors and windows, and brought in bread to the people. One old man was sitting absorbed over his Book. He looked up and asked what was wanted. "I have brought you bread," said the teacher. "Bread?" answered the old man, "Do I need bread when I have the Torah?"

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Our Zionist engineers had their hands full, not only with saving roofs and cisterns and draining houses of water, but with the unaccustomed task of the social worker. One of these brave engineers told me: "A cave would be a palace compared to what these people live in. It is indescribable. In one place, in a sort of hole behind a house, we found an old man, all alone, on damp rags, half dead, blubbering to himself. We sent for a physician. In another place we found two old people, a couple. They had no cover and had borrowed one coat from a neighbor to cover the two of them. The snow had broken their windows and the icy wind was driving through the little room. It was bad enough even in the day-time—imagine what it must have been at night. I found one family," he said, "all of them ill abed—in one room, seven of them—with one old woman to take care of them. When I say abed, don't think of beds as we know them. There was a mat put on the damp floor and a heap of damp rags. And on that lay the patient. In another place I found a family, an old man of over seventy who seemed half-witted, his wife, about forty, who was blind in one eye and covered with sores, and their family of little children, most of them covered with sores, one so that its face was quite deformed."

I knew these things. I am no longer a stranger in Jerusalem.

The Fanaticism of "Holiness"

HE went on to tell his tale: "There were a lot of people that we had to take out of their houses, which were about to fall or which had already fallen. You know there were a number of accidents that had to be taken care of in the hospital, and in the Old City some children were killed. I found a synagogue and took the people there and had them go in. Then I went to look after the houses. When I returned a few minutes later, the people were all on the street, in the snow and cold and wet, and the synagogue locked. I tell you I was mad. I went to look for the criminal, to find that key. Finally a little boy said to me. 'You bad man, what makes you put all those dirty people in the synagogue? Don't you know the synagogue is a holy place?' I was convinced then that his mother had the key—his mother, to whom he was clinging. I said to her, 'Give me that key.' I could have killed her, I was so mad. She protested that she did not have the key. I took a crowbar and I went to break down the door of the synagogue. Then I had an angry crowd about me. And finally we made a compromise and found a school, where the rooms were filthy, and took the people in there. However, next day, when some other workers went there, they reported that the people had again been put out into the street."

In Jerusalem the Jews have made of the Torah a spade to dig with.

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And so they refuse to work with real spades. Out of holy vessels they have made cups in which to gather the pennies of beggary. Again and again I heard tales of bread distributed to the people where one woman would grab two loaves and let her neighbor go without. The Yemenite Jews still hold labor as noble, but the *Chaluka* Jew of Jerusalem generally refuses to work because he considers himself too holy, and thinks so much of his own soul that he forgets his neighbor.

Several young men went to one house to shovel off the roof from which water was pouring into the house and which was endangering the ceiling. There was no one in the house at the time except an old woman. Soon, however, a young man, a student of the Holy Law, with side-locks, well dressed and sleek, came in. Many of our students are sickly, weak, unfit for work. This young man was not. He was robust and rosy. The other young men asked him to help them. He refused. "Work?" he said, "I cannot work. I never work. I study the Law." The young men looked at each other and laid down their tools. "Very well," they said, "if you don't work, we don't work either." They were volunteers—engineers, teachers. The young man finally decided that he must work rather than let the roof fall. However, at that moment his mother came in. Indignantly she protested: "What, my son work? He cannot work. He is too fine. He is a student of the Law. What are you doing? Don't you know you are doing a great wrong? He is the only one left of thirteen children. We have given him everything and brought him up to be a student. You, you are no doubt children of workmen. You can work. He, he cannot work. You have good boots—look at his thin shoes." "We earned our boots," answered the young men. "Why does he not earn boots for himself?" The old woman protested: "You don't understand—you cannot understand."

Workers and Slackers

THE English Tommies cleaned the main thoroughfares—Jaffa Road and the Consulate Street—on the third day of the storm. Few Jews of the native Jerusalemites could be brought to do any work. No doubt there was some excuse in the newness—the unaccustomedness—of the situation. Many of them had never seen snow. Many of them had not the proper clothes to put on. They were forced to stay within doors. But there were enough who said, "Let the Arabs do it. Such work is beneath us." Or, worse still, "Let the Yemenite Jews do it."

The Yemenite Jews, accustomed to labor, but for centuries unaccustomed to cold, were induced to work under skilful direction. One of the Zionist engineers had a group of Yemenites clearing the roofs of some houses that were in danger of falling. A Yemenite slipped and fell from

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a roof and was slightly hurt. Immediately all the others laid down their shovels and refused to go on. "Do you see?" they said, "He fell from the roof because God was angry with him. God put the snow there, and He does not want us to take it away." The Yemenites are not unwilling to work. With their Oriental fatalism does not go Oriental laziness. Despite the fact that they had only meagre clothing and unfit shoes, they had at least dared to come out.

Jerusalem has not one Jewish community. It has dozens of Jewish communities. And every story is offset by its opposite. Though it is true that twenty shovels were sent by the Zionist Commission to one spot in order that the men of the district might clean the snow, and that several hours later the twenty shovels were found piled up in one place and unused, yet in another district old men went out and climbed the roofs and used bits of wood to clean the snow because they had no shovels. Water poured into cellars and rushed into houses that had no sort of flooring. Water poured down the walls on the inside. Some sat helpless with folded hands watching their fate. Others went out to fight for themselves and for their neighbors.

In one district the wife of one of the members of the Zionist Commission supervised the work of distributing bread, and had the great difficulty of not knowing the neighborhood or the language. A young Jewish girl, who had attended the Evelina de Rothschild School and hence knew English, offered her services. She tramped all the morning in the bitter cold and snow, in a pair of thin boots and without too warm wraps. And she said, "The people who ask for bread are not the ones who need it most. I can take you to the houses of those too proud to ask for help, for I know every one who lives here." After hours of hard work she asked the leader to come into her house for a cup of tea. The house was very small and simple, a couple of rooms clean and attractive though poor. And the young girl apologized for the disorder in the room, for she and her family had taken in five neighbors—the parents and three children—whose house was in danger of falling.

Bread and Succor for the Snow-Bound

BELOW the Old City, in the valley, is a very poor Jewish settlement, the Montefiore houses and others clustered about them. The Jewish engineers were in fear lest this whole settlement be washed away by the force of water coming down the hill, and a number of persons therefore had to leave their houses and were accommodated in the synagogue. One synagogue refused to take them in—again because it was too holy. But another was found—less holy and more human. Here the Zionist Commission supplied the people with food, but neighbors took it upon them-

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selves to bring in tea and coffee and to supply warmth in general, especially the human warmth of friendliness.

It seemed as if everything had stopped in the city, except only the snow and the work of doctors and nurses of the Zionist Commission. Even the newspapers were not published for almost a week. The Zionist Commission stopped so far as its office work was concerned, for almost everyone on the force was out doing something else. It was necessary, absolutely necessary, to feed Jerusalem on those days. The Zionist Commission organized the distribution of bread. It had baked and distributed 10,000 loaves. The Orphan Committee, financed by the Joint Distribution Committee, looked after all the orphans living in private families, and also after the families with whom they are placed. One of the American women workers supervised the distribution of bread from six o'clock in the morning all through the day.

It was the engineers of the Zionist Commission who first foresaw the danger of falling houses, and then, with the coöperation of the British Government, but on their own initiative, forestalled what danger they could. Streams of water were diverted so as not to go rushing into the Old Town, where they would have worked the havoc of a flood. Many hurry calls were sent that houses were in danger. And always men went to examine, to labor and to forestall. Pumps were sent from place to place to pump out cellars. The British Government put at the disposal of the Zionist engineers a number of mules, and these were used to carry bread.

The Maccabees and Their Mules

THE Maccabees—that sturdy group of young Jewish men and women who are always on the scene when anything is to be done and are, as it were, the advance guard of a Jewish community—again did their share as disciplined soldiers under the leadership of the engineers. They were sent about from district to district, with mules, with great baskets hanging on either side of them filled with bread. The mules took the snow very well. And a young Maccabee might be seen riding back and forth between the Zionist Commission and the Old City on his noble little steed. A new kind of Zion Mule Corps!

The doctors and nurses of the American Zionist Medical Unit were out from early morning until late at night upon their labors of mercy. One of the doctors, returning late at night through the snow to his home in the New City, lost his way. He wandered about among heaps of snow in the dark streets, not knowing where he was, and finally came out into the gardens of the Russian Hospital. Finding himself among the trees, he thought he was lost in a great forest. At last, after hours, he reached his home exhausted to the point of illness.

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It was those accustomed to service who took also the small services upon themselves. At the Rothschild Hospital of the American Zionist Medical Unit it was the American doctors who went on the roof and shovelled snow—no one else could be found to do it. The school teachers reported at school on the Sunday after the storm, but almost no children came.

The High Cost of Snow

MANY children and some grown-ups had never seen snow before in their lives. One little girl, brought up in a colony of Judea, called to her mother to "come out and see all the white salt that has fallen in the garden." The mother herself had not seen snow and was filled with childish joy. Several times during the first night she went to the window to see whether the snow was still there, and she did not begin to dislike it until eggs rose to two for a shilling.

The Jewish colonies on the maritime plain knew nothing of this storm, save what came to them by report. For several days Jerusalem was wholly cut off from telephone, telegraph and train service with all the rest of the country. For four days no vegetables or dairy produce came in from the farms. All were snow-bound. Work almost stopped; porters, occasional workers, were kept at home. No wonder there was the crying need for more bread.

Hardly any one in Jerusalem but suffered from hunger—or at least from want of the accustomed fare. Prices, already so high that it seemed they could soar no more, kept on rising. Eggs cost what would equal about twelve cents apiece. And there were some days when even at that price they could not be obtained. Butter, milk, oranges, green vegetables, could not be procured for some time. Our little maid came back on the fourth day of the storm, looking pinched and worn. She and her mother, Yemenites, lived together in a small house of one room. The snow was so deep around the doors and windows, which open outwards, that for two days they were unable to open them in order to get food. Finally neighbors heard and dug a way to them. All this in intense and bitter cold.

The Fine Art of Keeping Warm and Dry

IN our house we managed to keep ourselves warm with oil stoves going constantly in two rooms. But on the third day our kerosene gave out. The school teacher went forth, and after some search found a man willing to carry cans of oil through the snow-clogged street and up our stairs. We had to pay three shillings for the delivery of two cans of oil for a distance of about one or two blocks. But at least we kept our stoves going.

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Water came trickling in through the walls, where the white plaster turned deep blue with dampness. Our two pigeons huddled close under the eaves to keep warm. Sparrows flew into the house. They have a habit of doing that in Jerusalem at all times, something quite surprising to an American, who is used to the more reserved ways of English sparrows. The English sparrow in Palestine is more impertinent than I have seen him elsewhere. Indeed, I am tempted to call him the British sparrow because the sun never sets on his dominions. But during the snow one could not chase the sparrow from the house—who could chase even a robber into that snow?

Luckily our floors at least were not wet, but only cold and damp as stone floors are bound to be, for we live on the second floor. The apartment, which is supposed to be an invention of modern life, is quite common here in Jerusalem. Most families live upon one floor, but with this difference, that the stairs leading to the second floor are built on the outside of the house. Indeed, the balcony, the terrace, the court and roof, play so large a part in our life here that one is never quite sure, what with the many doors and windows, when one is indoors or when one is outdoors. Usually that is a happy state. During the blizzard all the cracks and corners and openings, with snow and water piling in upon the house, made life a cold and shivery affair. An oil stove is a precious thing in Jerusalem, and a rug—even a little rug—a thing to be treasured and gathered about one's feet.

The storm had begun on Tuesday. By the following Monday the snow had melted from all the roofs and trees, and was beginning to grow thin on the fields. The Arab children who lived behind me came out of their house and built a lady of snow, very tall and fair, put a hat upon her head, and a little toy parasol in her hands. She needed that parasol, for the sun came out, and soon there was no lady. The snow melted into great lakes and ran in roaring rivers through the streets. A furious rain came to help it along. And as the snow disappeared there showed forth under it the young plants and the green grass, the leaves of narcissus and lily.

Jessie E. Sampter

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Colloques Comiques

By Martin Feinstein

[*Colloques Comiques* I and II appeared in The Menorah Journal for August, 1919]

III

"Bendik Was a *Philosoph*—"

BENDIK was a *philosoph*,
Always claimed he had enough,—
What's the good of having more?
One was better far than four,
Whether wives or prunes or bosses,
One engendered less of losses.
So he clung with grim decision
To the lady of his vision;
And when Bendik lost his job,
Did not stop to wail and sob,
Did not try to find another,
Couldn't endure the daily bother.
Sat around the stove instead,
Toasting cigarettes and bread,
Blind to hints of work and wages,
Communing with immortal sages.
Work and worry? Non-essentials!
Pondered a book on "Existentials,"
Till his categoric quiet
Was invaded by the riot
Of his wife's lamenting voice,
Cursing the day she made her choice.
"Shades of Sheba and Xantippe!
Woman, you will drive me dippy."

Then the storm of fury broke:
"May you gargle, may you choke,
If you don't go out and work!
Bendik, you're a lazy Turk,
Fie upon you, sluggard swine!
You're no husband more of mine,
I'll not stand the bitter shame,
Bendik shall not be my name!"

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"Hush!" cried Bendik in dismay,
"You shall rue this dismal day!
Hush, I tell you!"
"*You* tell *me*?
Pray, who may your lordship be?
Wait, I'll call the neighbors in,
I'll show them all this man of sin,
That's the way I'll hush for you!"

Out of Bendik's hand there flew
"Existentials" with a crash,
At his wife's strategic dash,
Flew correctly and with force,
Not upon her head, of course,
But upon his own.
"The devil!"
Bendik cried, "A thing of evil!
Hear me, madam—stand apart—
Mrs. Bendik—have a heart——"

Let us turn our backs nor look,
Love nigh wrecked upon a book;
A domestic, frantic schism
Filled the air with dualism,
Cigarettes, and nibbled toast,
Objurgations, and a host
Of metaphysical invective,
Sizzling hot and most effective.
When the battle's heat was over,
Mr. Bendik crawled from cover,
Stood with battered dignity,
As a *philosoph* should be,
Rubbed his head with deep compassion,
Blew his nose in stately fashion:
"Woman, you have killed my love,
Once as tender as a dove.
I have sought to serve my nation
With frugal means and meditation,
Fortified myself at most
With stale tobacco and staler toast,
And this is the thanks I get from you.
Must I drink the hemlock too?"
And Mrs. Bendik: "That stuff won't work,
It isn't drink that makes you shirk,
It's your cultivated disposition
That makes you minus all ambition."

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And Bendik: "You have broken my heart,
It's better now that we should part,
For such is the price a man like me
Must pay for his love of philosophy.
You'll never see me any more,
Good-by!" and Bendik opened the door,
"Good-by!" He posed a moment there,
And then passed slowly down the stair.

That night the Missus slept alone,
Burdened with grief of the weight of stone,
Torn with the anguish of remorse,
And penitent tears at her cruel course.
If only her Bendik would return,
She'd keep him in tabac and toast to burn
For the rest of his life. Let him fill his head
With "Existentials"; she'd work in his stead;
She'd work herself thin to the very bone.
That night the Missus slept alone.
It was a dismal night indeed,
And pointed a moral for mortals to heed.
The skies were empty of stars and of moon,
And the wind wailed round its ancient rune,
And the cats on the fence, with communal surge,
Sang back to the wind their funereal dirge.
It was indeed a dismal night,
Sans sleep, sans husband, and sans light.

O had I the pen of a poet to use,
With something to gain, and nothing to lose,
I'd show you the absolute vanity
Of love to make light of philosophy;
I'd turn you a moral, the while you wait,
As neat as a feather, as binding as fate.

But the sad, lone night wore out at last,
Yawned in despair at the dawn, and passed.
And the Missus rose from her desolate bed,
Tightened a kerchief about her head,
Ancestral relic of lace and of silk,
And opened the door to get the milk.
There in the hall lay the head of her house,
Her Bendik, asleep, and as still as a mouse,
While tucked securely under his arm
"Existentials" was shielded from harm.

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"Bendik!" she cried, and Bendik stirred,
"Bendik, my love!" and the precious word
Woke the prodigal.
"Yes, my dear."
"Where have you been all night?"
"Right here!"

* * * *

Some hold the notion and some flout it
That Bendik's found a job. I doubt it.
However that event may be,
He's getting weak in philosophy,
Although he has abundant toast,
Which circumstance may mean at most
That it's the Missus does the work,
While Bendik still remains a Turk.

IV

"Slumkin Was a Yiddish Writer—"

SLUMKIN was a Yiddish writer,
Called himself a "young inditer
And composer, to be sure,
Of miscellaneous litra-toor."
Wrote a various line, indeed,
Wrote with passion and with speed,
Wrote a handsome eulogy
Of a bunion-cure, sent free,
Manufactured by his brother,
(Who never asked him for another),
Wrote love letters for his friends,
Wrote insurance, odds and ends,
Wrote complaints for all the neighbors,
Till his miscellaneous labors
Made the name of Slumkin fit
To conjure with and swear by it.
In fact, his literary beat
Covered two blocks of Allen Street.

O that fatal first of May!
Slumkin hadn't the rent to pay,
Hadn't paid for ten whole weeks.

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As a faithful Brahmin seeks
Nirvana for oblivion's sake,
Slumkin's soul tried to partake
Forgetfulness of May and rent
In slumber and in dreams unsent
Of landlords and of dispossession.
So Slumkin held Brahminic session.
Under his window the "L" trains roared
And clattered by, but Slumkin snored;
Unwieldy trucks went chugging by,
And honked their clamor to the sky;
An automatic organ ground
Crashes of operatic sound,
In furious, unabashed rehearsal;
But Slumkin mixed with the universal,
And had no ear for the world at all;
From polyphonic din and brawl
The soul of Slumkin sank more deep
In blessed and oblivious sleep.

Tap-tap-tap on the dingy door,
(Suspiration and a snore),
Tap-tap-tap with a firmer will,
(Whistle and gurgle and muffled trill),
Tap-tap-tap with a strict intent,
(Crescendo gasp and troubled descent),
Tap-tap-tap and will not be denied,
Tap-tap-tap on the door outside,
Tap-tap-tap and a shuffle on the stair,
Tap-tap-tap,—

"Who the devil's there?
Come in, you stupid, the door ain't shut!
An' I ain't gonna bother with every mut,
Not even the landlord himself!"

"It's me!"
Slumkin sat bolt in his bed to see
Whoever the bothersome person might be;
The door gave in quite gradually.
"A lady!—I—say—I didn't mean what I said!"
And he bowed till his head touched his knees in the bed.
Forgotten Nirvana of sleep and of snores,
Returned like a shot from the Lethean shores;
A lady indeed! Like a rose in full bloom,
Her presence invaded that bachelor room,
With odor of aloes, of balsam, and myrrh,
Of Lebanon woods when the wind is astir,

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Of dew in the gardens of ancient En-Gedi,—
Enough to make Slumkin a little unsteady.
"Are you Mr. Slumkin?"
"Yours truly. And you?"
"That's a secret just now, but you'll know when I'm through.
You see, Mr. Slumkin, I've heard of your fame,
For Slumkin's a grand and a glorious name.
And many's the letter I've read from your pen,
Enough to give heart to the shyest of men.
And many's the shiddach your letters have made,
When the boys were too cold and the girls were afraid;
And so, Mr. Slumkin, I've come for your aid,
Please write me a letter, the best in your trade,
A letter chuck full of affection and fire,
Caresses and kisses and summer desire."

"Come, slip me my paper, my ink, and my pen,"
Quoth Slumkin, "I've bait for the slickest of men!"
Then out of his vast experience
Of lover's voice and mood and tense,
He girded himself to conjugate
"Amo" in all its varied state;
Labored and knit his brow in pain,
Wrote, and rejected, wrote over again,
Wrote with a large and gracious vision,
Multiplied precept and decision,
Marshalled an army of amorous sense,
Battered the foe with violence
Of honied phrase and sweet barrage,
With boldness and with camouflage;
Flaring rockets decrescendo,
Frank avowal, innuendo,
Garrulous, gusty, lavish, free,
Matching at hearts with drollery,
Stumbling, and humble, devoted, and meek,—
Wrote till his pen began to squeak,
Wrote till his fingers refused to go,
And his inspiration fluttered more slow,
Like a rag when the wind dies down again.
Quoth Slumkin, "Here's bait for the slickest of men!"

"And now, if you please," said the lady, "I'll sign
My name to the letter. Believe me, it's fine!"
And she signed with a dainty and resolute fashion
Her name to the splendid epistle of passion:
"Sonia Barshatski."

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"Barshatski!" cried Slumkin,
I know a Barshatski, a cabbage, a pumpkin,
My landlord, a yachsan, shlemiel, a stew!"

"I'm the landlord's daughter; the letter's for you!"

* * * * *

Doctor, lawyer, Indian chief,—
A Slumkin never comes to grief.
Now Slumkin has no rent to pay,
Since he married Sonia the first of May.
A very simple thing to do,
And so my advice is free to you,
If you haven't the rent, don't bother your head,
But marry the landlord's daughter instead.

Martin Feinstein

IN an early issue THE MENORAH JOURNAL *will print an unusually thought-provoking article on "Jewish Realities in America," by Marvin M. Lowenthal, who discusses therein "our problem—how to maintain our civilization—our religion, language, literature, arts, and customs—in a world which is different, indifferent, and sometimes hostile, with respect to each and all of these."*

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THE
MENORAH JOURNAL

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Poetry and Religion

The Third Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture

BY ISRAEL ABRAHAMS

[EDITORS' NOTE.—This is the third in a series of annual lectures established in England in memory of the Jewish scholar and philanthropist, Arthur Davis. By a special arrangement with the Trustees of the Arthur Davis Memorial Fund, THE MENORAH JOURNAL enjoys the privilege of publishing the Lectures in America. The inaugural Lecture by Israel Zangwill on "Chosen Peoples" appeared in our October, 1918, issue, and the second, by R. Travers Herford on "What the World Owes to the Pharisees," in the issues for June and August, 1919. In the third of the series here presented, delivered at the University of London last April, before a distinguished assembly presided over by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, Professor of English Literature at the University of Cambridge, Israel Abrahams carries on the brilliant tradition already established for this Lectureship.]

ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, one of the best known Jewish scholars of this generation, was born in London in 1858, and educated at London and at Cambridge. He is the successor of Dr. Schechter in the chair of Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature at Cambridge University. Among his many notable books, widely read by laymen as well as by scholars, are: "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," "Chapters in Jewish Literature," "The Book of Delight," and "Studies in Pharisaism."

I

POET and Prophet are akin—not merely because the Prophet often uses the Poet's form—verse; not merely because the Poet often sings of the Prophet's theme—righteousness; not merely because among the first poets were priests, among the first prophets minstrels. Plato called the Poet the father of wisdom, Montaigne described that philosopher as nothing but a poet come unstitched. "Plato n'est qu'un poète descousu." Montaigne was partly of Jewish race, his great-grandfather having been a Spanish Jew. He was possibly thinking of the old Hebrew story,

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which gave rise to the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?"—because the future King of Israel joined the ecstatic band who came down from the high place of Gibeah with lyre and tambourine, with flute and harp. Thus both in primitive and advanced times the alliance between the singer and the sage has been clearly perceived. The Poet and the Prophet, to take the highest ground, are both idealists as regards the relations between the seen and unseen worlds. Both are visionaries of time and eternity. Carlyle said that all inmost truth is melodious. Poet and Prophet alike try to see life true, Poet and Prophet alike try to see life beautiful.

When, however, we examine more closely Keats' equation, "Beauty *is* truth, truth beauty," we are arrested in our easy identifications. We must be on our guard against applying to one aspect of Art—and all expression is Art—terms applicable only to a different aspect. It is as inept to talk (without obvious qualifications) of color in music as it is to speak of literary form in painting. Similarly with the equation of beauty and truth. Beauty and truth, like the twin oracular emblems of Light and Perfection (Urim and Thummim) borne on the breast of the Hebrew priest, form together the most potent instrument for penetrating the secret of the relation of God and man. Edgar Poe was not a profound literary critic, yet he was right when he denied that Poetry is mainly concerned with truth or Religion with beauty. Beauty and truth, in so far as their expression in both Poetry and Religion is concerned, certainly started off together. Religious ritual, most are agreed, began in the same gracious instinct which produced Poetry: the instinct for *rhythmic* expression. The dance was the earliest ritual, the ritual chant the earliest of poems. Rhythmic beauty and truth were the joint parents of a twin rhythmic offspring.

The Abandonment of Rhythm

BUT if we observe things as they are after millennia of development, we find both Religion and Poetry denying their olden allegiance to rhythm. It is true that the Salvation Army, in the words of George Bernard Shaw's professor of Greek, resembles the Dervish cult of the Orient, in that it still "marches to fight the devil with trumpet and drum, with music and dancing, with banner and palm, as becomes a sally from heaven by its happy garrison." But it was just this loyalty of the Salvation Army to remote origins that offended modern religious taste, partly because Religion has wisely outgrown the abandon of its past, partly because it has unwisely discarded a valuable ally. Religion is become respectable, worshippers stiff and still, and most moderns share the disgust of Michal (a Philistine at heart, though daughter of the ruler over

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the children of light) at her David dancing round the Ark. Does not her punishment forecast the barrenness of Religion when divorced from its consort Rhythm? People dance now, but not in ritual, though some make a ritual of it. As to Poetry, the new school openly proclaims that rhythm is not a necessary adjunct of its art, that the true poetic medium is prose with the merest pinch of cadence thrown in to flavor it. The *vers libre*, on the side of Poetry, is as much a departure from its origins as our sedate decorum, on the side of Religion, is a divagation from its source. Thus Religion is too statically rational, Poetry too dynamically formless, for the two to come together easily on the old common ground of rhythm. Rhythm made them akin, the absence of rhythm in both, by a just irony, turns them into aliens.

Poetry and Religion, then, have to a large extent equally diverged from their common source. Like all new facts, however, this fact is by no means new. It corresponds to a change which was absolutely necessary so soon as each started off on its own *creative* career. When the creative imagination, as distinct from the imitative imagination, got to work, Prophet and Poet were bound to part company. With the Greeks, the creative imagination operating poetically produced drama; with the Hebrew, the creative imagination operating religiously produced dogma. This contrast will occupy us later. For the moment it must suffice to recall that Faust and the Decalogue, Hamlet and "What doth the Lord require of thee," represent very different operations of constructive genius. We have come to feel more and more that we prefer our Poetry, as we prefer our Religion, free from foreign fetters. For Dante's vision of a Garden City in Paradise, we substitute the actuality of a garden city in Hampstead. We do not conceive of a Divine Judgment in Milton's terms. For our Utopias we confide (rashly perhaps) in our economists. All the frontiers have shifted. The highest function of the Poet will, I am inclined to hold, become more and more merged in the dramatist. In drama the Poet can make adventurous exploration in human nature, for creative Poetry lives by and in precarious experiments, while Religion (in any organized sense of the word) lives by and in ascertained results.

The Strait-Jacket of the Hymn-Writer

I THINK that you will find that, when critics of Art most unreservedly assert the kinship of Poetry and Religion, they are thinking only or chiefly of the special aspect which must occupy us here, the aspect in which the two are or were truly akin. Mr. Morison, in a recent number of the *Poetry Review*, after brilliantly analyzing that kinship, concludes: "The richer poetry is in musical quality—the more it can be sung—the

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more confidence we may have that the thoughts and feelings it expresses are true and trustworthy." Clearly this applies only to one particular type of Poetry—the lyric; to one particular type of Religion, the summons to which the lyric is the response—to the Psalm in particular and the Hymn in general.

I do not propose to discuss Hymns, or to take sides either with their eulogists or detractors. Some will have it that many Hymns are neither good Poetry nor good Religion. Tennyson thought that the difficulty about hymn-writing was that "in a good Hymn you have to be commonplace and poetical"—not a very profound diagnosis. Nor was Dr. Johnson more convincing when he found the difficulty in the "paucity of topics." There is the same danger of monotony and insincerity in nature poetry and love poetry as in religious poetry. Pan and Helen are not more fertile of adoration than Jehovah or Mary. Johnson came nearer the mark when he said that the hymn-writer essays the vain task of gilding Omnipotence. So the Talmud tells us how a Precentor stood out and prayed: "God the great, the valiant and tremendous, the powerful, the strong and the mighty." The Rabbi subtly rebuked him with the question, "Have you *finished* all the praises of your Maker?" A recent critic has said that what hampers and cramps the hymn-writer is the limitation of "a definite and detailed creed."

This is the real trouble. The Hymn must be written to order, to fit or illustrate a belief or a text. The Psalmists were in better case, because when they wrote Religion was still fluid and in process of formulation, and also because they were not encumbered (as modern hymn-writers are) by the need of accommodating themselves to Psalmic models. The Psalmists were making the models! Here we again touch the real problem. The difficulty applies not only to Hymns, but to all Poetry.

How Religion and Poetry May Come to Terms

THE modern Poet must be free, he resents the restraint of convention and form, and above all he resents the restraint of Religion. He refuses to dance while the Priest calls the tune. He has won autonomy, and he will not surrender it. Religion, on its side, is equally indisposed to admit the control of Poetry. Religion no longer seeks to teach through the Poet's mouth. The Synagogue, for several centuries, did this in a species of hymn which was designedly erudite. It was part of the machinery of instruction; it expounded religious theory and moral and ritual practice; it was academic, often obscure in phraseology, recondite in historical and scholastic allusion. These hymns were in danger—they often succumbed to the danger—of falling between two stools. The Religion

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in them was hardly specialized and precise enough for the Rabbi, the Poetry in them hardly attractive or facile enough for the layman. The Rabbi objected that these poets obscured and mutilated Religion by retaining too much of the olden anthropomorphic imagery; the layman probably retorted that they fell short of poetry by including too much of the older ritual of law. We can imagine the average man objecting: This is no Poet, he is a Rabbi; just as we know that the Rabbi (Maimonides) is recorded to have protested: This is no Rabbi, he is a Poet! Thus, in the very lyric sphere in which Poetry and Religion approach nearest, they tend to come into conflict.

And yet without lyrics we cannot conceive Religion thriving. The latest theory of the growth of Religion is that it organized itself as a product of life in communities. Religion, if not in origin, at all events in action, was *social*. It must continue so or perish. The individual may pray in prose or even in wordless silence; a congregation must sing or disband. How is this catastrophe to be avoided? By the only possible means—mutual honesty. Conventions never unite. There must be established between Poetry and Religion a League of Free Notions—founded on sincerity. Religion must not profess notions of truth it does not hold. Poetry must not bend the knee to a notion of Art which it repudiates. Poetry to-day is much the franker of the two. Religion must become equally frank. And on each side there must be some sacrifice of absolute independence, for leagues are based on sacrifice. Then the new Religion and the new Poetry may come to terms. Let the one but recover the honesty, the other the music, of the Psalms, and we shall not want for new songs pleasant in man's mouth, welcome in God's ear. The best of it is that, despite all vagaries of fashion in Poetry and Religion, the old Psalms—the greatest of them, anyhow—are still as new poetically, and as true religiously, as when they first left the devout and melodious lips of their original singers.

II

An Unrecognized Lyrical Beauty

IT would be unfair, however, to dismiss the *didactic* kinship of Poetry and Religion without further comment. The edition of the Festival Prayers associated with the name of Arthur Davis, among its other services, conferred new lyrical importance on the didactic compositions which abound in a type of the Synagogue liturgy not usually recognized as poetical at all. There are, as is well known, two main types of that liturgy—what may roughly be termed the South-Eastern or Sephardic,

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and the North-Western or Ashkenazic. It is the latter rite which is represented in the work begun by Arthur Davis, and so capably completed by Mr. H. M. Adler. The two rites are dissimilar, not so much in regard to the prose text of the prayers, as in regard to those additions in verse known as *piyyutim* (a word by etymology and sense derived from the Greek). It is these poems round which so much æsthetic controversy has raged.

As to the former type, few competent critics are in doubt. The poetical quality of the Sephardic liturgists—notably Gabirol, Halevi, and the Ibn Ezras—has been pretty generally recognized since Sachs impelled Heine to hail these medieval Spaniards as "poets by the grace of God." But on the Ashkenazic type Heine is silent. The explanation is simple. Sachs' book on the Religious Poetry of the Spanish Jews appeared in 1845, just in time for Heine to read and use it before, in 1848, he lay down on the mattress-grave which he only quitted at his death in 1856. The first edition of Sachs' translation of the same Ashkenazic rite as constitutes the text of the Davis work, was not published until 1855 when Heine was beyond versifying. Heine is silent, then, about these *Kalirian* poets, and few before him had broken the silence unless to damn, as Ibn Ezra damned, with far from faint blame. I have called them Kalirian, after the name of their most prolific author, though Josê and Yannai preceded Kalir. And I have called the Ashkenazic rite Western, because it now is prevalent in the Occident, though it was Oriental in origin, and all the poets named were probably natives of Palestine, born between the seventh and ninth centuries. Now, by his metrical versions of the Kalirian *piyyutim*, Sachs took up the case for the defense, and secured arrest of judgment. The English translators associated with Arthur Davis (his two daughters and Mr. Israel Zangwill) have done better. They have won a reversal of judgment on appeal. They have kept closer to their originals on the one hand, and have given us far better lyrics on the other. They have given us, in the technical sense, far better lyrics than the original Hebrew. Though the translators have sometimes reproduced with meticulous precision the tricks and grotesqueness of their texts, they have naturally softened much of their phraseological harshness, simplified much of their allusive obscurity. But the lyric beauty which their versions reveal was undoubtedly inherent in the Hebrew originals.

Verses In Place of Sermons

I AM not asking you on this occasion to consider the *piyyutim* as a whole, but only the one aspect of them which cannot be ignored in any discussion of the relation of Poetry to Religion. Summarily stated, the

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Kalirians were teachers, not primarily lyrists. Religion, not Poetry, was master of their inspiration. They wrote in verse, but they discoursed. When Yannai, one of the earliest of the type, about 650, proclaimed of one of his compositions, "I speak it in place of a sermon," he was striking the keynote of the whole class. It has been urged that when, in the year 553, Justinian interfered with the public instruction in the traditional lore, this instruction was perforce transferred from the school to the synagogue, and the Precentor (Hazzan) replaced the Preacher (Darshan). It scarcely seems probable to me that Justinian could have been so easily hoodwinked. We have a Church parallel of a couple of centuries earlier. The Church chroniclers, Socrates and Sozomen, tell us that when Julian forbade Christians to read the classics, they turned the Scriptures into hexameters, and thus enjoyed the forbidden pleasure in another form. This is not tenable. Before Julian was thought of, Juvencus had done the same thing. And with what motive? Because he did not see why the classical myths should be told in verse and the Christian story in prose. You will remember that much the same motive was assigned by Sternhold and Hopkins for the metrical English version of the Psalter. They declared their verses "very meete to be vsed of all sortes of people privatly for their godly solace & comfort, laying aparte al vngodly songes & balades, whych tend only to the nourishing of vyce & corrupting of youth."

Again and again in the history of Hymnology we find pious liturgists reclaiming Poetry to the service of Religion, to answer on the one side heresy, and on the other side to counter the attraction of the secular "balade." Were this the proper opportunity, I think I could plausibly argue that in Yannai's case, too, the didactic hymn was only partly, if at all, invented because of the external pressure of the government. On the inside, heresy was beginning to make itself acutely felt; soon the Karaite attack on tradition was to organize itself. This, added to the eager fancy for Arabic love and war lyrics, must be recognized as among the causes of the renaissance of the Hebrew lyric in the Synagogue worship. The desuetude of the sermon, due largely to the growing length of the service, was (in Yannai's age) another incentive to the creation of a didactic lyric, mostly short, as a substitute for the discourse.

The Lyric Appeal of the Piyyutim

I CANNOT, however, discuss this more adequately now. The point I wish to make is more cognate to my present thesis. "All erudition," remarked Scaliger, "is an ornament to Poetry." Though Ben Jonson might be cited in evidence, the generalization is hard to treat seriously.

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But the Kalirians effected one thing. The very fact that their poems were so full of substance saved them from the weak sentimentality which has marred so much of modern hymnology. If Poetry is to serve Religion it must not administer an anodyne where it ought to provide a tonic. We must remember, too, that liturgies all too rarely seek to make their appeal to the educated. We ought not, therefore, to treat it as a fault in the Kalirians that they concerned themselves somewhat with the needs of the trained intellect, that they encouraged the worshipper to think as well as to feel. This is where my argument comes in. Though the masses can never have found these *piyyutim* easy, though there never were any "good old times" when the average Synagogue-goer could understand the recondite Hebrew in which the *piyyutim* are written, nevertheless the masses enjoyed them because of their inveterate tendency to make songs of them. Many of them were essentially lyrical even in form; thus Kalir's Dew Songs are as dainty and musical as anything that Jehuda Halevi wrote. But even in the more severely didactic and erudite verses of Yannai and his successors, the worshippers (without necessarily following every word) were enraptured at the Precentor's tuneful declamation in monologue, his melodies became traditional, and the *poetanim* (authors of the *piyyutim*) more and more reverted to the Psalmic method of providing *refrains* which the congregation easily caught up, despite the absence of books of the words. A fascinating chapter in the history of the relation of Poetry to Religion might be written round the function of the refrain. In the Temple worship the people were practically restricted to certain responses and refrains.

This reference to the Psalms reminds us that the inclusion of so many of them in the medieval (as in the Temple) liturgy, made it unnecessary for the Kalirians to add more compositions than they did (and they added a good many) in the strictly lyrical form. The Psalms were lyrics enough. No serious attempt was made to imitate these in *form*. Such an attempt would probably have been resented by public opinion among the traditionalists, just as the Karaite anti-traditionalists resented the introduction of *piyyutim*, demanding the Psalms, and nothing but the Psalms, as sacred song. But, as I have said, whatever the authors' design, the congregations insisted on regarding the *piyyutim* as lyrics. They perceived, what the Arthur Davis collaborators perceived, that underlying what is often a distinctly non-lyrical form there rests a genuine lyrical force. The true spirit of song was in Kalir, the ungainliness was in the make-up, the music was in the essential man. By bringing this truth to light, the translators have proved themselves true interpreters, even though they have sometimes seemed to convert recitative into melody. They had ample precedent. What they have done, the congregations

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were doing for centuries before them. For the worshippers poached on the Precentor's preserve: many a *piyyut* devised as a solo was claimed as a chorus. So uncontrollable was the desire to sing prayers, that congregations (especially the Sephardic) refused to remain silent auditors of the Precentor's performance. They even made lyrics out of prose passages. Two tyrants have had a baleful effect on the congregational worship of the modern Synagogue—the printer and the choirmaster; the one has robbed it of new poems, the other has made the old tunes unsingable. The constraining influence of the printer is the more serious. No new Hebrew hymn has found a regular place in the Synagogue rituals since Shelomoh ha-Levi's in the sixteenth century.

III

Religion and Mysticism

THE poem referred to is the popular Friday night processional invocation of the Sabbath, *Lecha Dodi*, "Come O friend to meet the Bride." I did not mention it merely to round off a paragraph. It really leads to an important aspect of our problem.

For *Lecha Dodi* was the product of a mystical environment. But this is only true when we use the term "mystical" in an inexact sense. Mysticism, as a theology, is not necessarily pantheistic; but as a philosophy it is inevitably monistic. Both as a theology and as a philosophy it must somehow bring unity into two universes which Religion and Poetry keep distinct—subject and object, matter and spirit, God and man. Hence there is a real sense in which mysticism, without a touch of which Religion is scarcely possible, is antagonistic to Religion; just as mysticism, without a touch of which lyrical poetry is scarcely possible, is antagonistic to Poetry. At its deepest, mysticism is incapable of self-expression. The editors of the *Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse* truly remark: "The most essential part of mysticism cannot, of course, ever pass into expression, inasmuch as it consists in an experience which is in the most literal sense ineffable." As one of the mystics himself, going even further, puts it, his "thought is even from thought concealed."

When the mystic turns to the "rhythm and glamour" of verse, it is chiefly to adapt to his religious experience terms derived from his sensual experience. He uses the phraseology of love, of light, of vision. Here he found new warmth for his verse, new illumination for his genius. The Psalms were here, as in so many other cases, a direct source of inspiration. There is no metaphysical "mysticism" in the Psalms, for the Psalms depend on a dualism, in which, though the minstrel feels the desire for

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union with God and gives rapturous and ecstatic expression to his desire, he never loses a sense of his separate identity. Nor did the later mystical poets of the Synagogue. They applied the supposed meaning of the Song of Songs more indiscriminately, and even, while the older Rabbinic theology has rationalistically spoken of the Shechinah (Divine Presence) as resting *on* man, the newer Jewish mystics spoke of the Shechinah as resting *in* man. Obviously both were speaking metaphorically, and the new metaphor was perhaps less efficient than the old. The Psalmist said, with some approach to a real meaning, "In Thy light we see light"; the medieval *poetan*, without troubling himself as to the sense of his utterance, said that God's light was within the human soul; it did not merely illumine what was without, it was the very light within.

The predominant Jewish mysticism, however, guarded against the identification, even in metaphor, of man and God; kinship yes, identity no. In Poetry we see this very clearly. The best, the most accepted of the Jewish mystical poets were those who, while they admitted the autonomy of the individual soul, also retained the idea of its responsibility to something not itself. That something was not given by Poetry, it was not given by mystical philosophy. It was given by Religion, by what on the one side we may term, semi-mystically, tradition (*i. e.*, the accumulated living experience of the ages), and on the more rational side Will. There is little, if any, room for the Divine Will in mysticism; there is every room for it in Religion. To that extent—and it is a vast extent—Religion cannot be identified with mysticism.

The Lyric Expression of Mysticism

ON the other hand, it seems evident that when mysticism becomes lyrical it sacrifices part of its own inherent quality. For—and this is the point I have been driving at—lyric (and not merely lyric of the Psalmic order) assumes a dualism: the lover and the loved, victor and war-god, soul and its source. The mystic is, on the other hand, alone, not even alone with God, for God is absorbed in him, he in God. If he sees the face of God, it is his own face that he sees. Hence the mystic, as such, does not produce lyrics. These are essentially responsive, and response implies the separate existence of two—at all events two as ideally represented.

> Apart from Thee, in midst of life I die;
> And life in death I find, when Thou art nigh.

Here we see mysticism at its best, and also at its most self-denying, in the cause both of Poetry and Religion. Jehuda Halevi (from whom

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the quotation comes) begins and ends his poem with the Psalmic phrase: "Lord, unto Thee are ever manifest my inmost heart's desire." Intense, passionate, uncontrolled through his yearning for God, he never merges himself in God or God in himself. He cannot do so and remain a true singer of the songs of Israel. Ibn Gabirol was himself far more mystically inclined than was Halevi. The prose philosophy of Gabirol was neo-Platonic, but when he turned to poetry, he turned also to Aristotle. With all its mystical under-current, the "Royal Crown" of Gabirol is rationalistic. Similarly with a gem of the Sephardic hymnology written by Nachmanides. It is mystical, but how transformed by the lyric touches derived from an outer control! The thirteenth century poet describes the pre-existence of his soul in the store-house, awaiting (as in an impressive scene of the *Blue Bird*) the hour of birth into a world, from which in due course return must be made to the starting-point. The new-born personality has freedom of choice, the light of God is his guide, but he is under obligation to a law outside himself. Then he strays, he feels that he has lost his way, he shrinks yet trusts. How can the sinner hope to reach the King? But he will win back, he must, he can, through death it may be, but nevertheless back to the life from which the pilgrim's soul emerged.

This hymn is a bright jewel in the resplendent tiara of poems and romances which tell of the Pilgrimage of the Soul. Nachmanides sounds the depths of human despondency, as all men of profound spiritual insight are bound to sound them. Ibn Gabirol does it, so does Jehuda Halevi. The load of guilt is heavy, the faithful servants have perished one by one, salvation tarries till the heart is sick. The thought of the desolate shrine becomes an intolerable sorrow; happy the eye that saw the Temple in its glory; but tortured is the ear that merely listens to the far-off tale of a lost spectacle. Above all these feelings towers the lyric confidence. These hymns end off in a burst of trust which is no mere conventional tag. It is the whole theme. Resignation is sung by these poets, but never without the assured certainty that in the end grace will overmaster guilt, and mercy be weighed against sins; by a bold figure, mercy and grace will be laid in the balance to prove the sins lighter.

It has been said that the minstrel of a good song always generalizes his individuality. Of many of the Psalms, for instance, it is still an undecided problem whether the "I" of the Psalter implies an individual or the nation. It is here that mysticism does come into close contact with the poetry of religion. The speaker of some of the most individual-seeming Psalms was pronounced by ancient Jewish tradition, as by many modern critics, not an individual at all, but the *Keneseth Israel*, the Community of Israel. The personification of the Community at the expense

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of the personality of the poet is at once an invasion of the lyric and of the mystical rights. But somehow it is an invasion which leads not to destruction, but to a constructive union, which gave us, among other products, the matchless Fifty-first Psalm.

IV

A Religious Renaissance Through Song

IN order to probe the relation of Poetry to Religion more deeply, let us consider two facts. One of these, the discussion of which we will defer, is the absence of a classical Hebrew drama. The other fact is the irresistible impulse towards song even in religions as austere as those of India. Mostly, reform in Religion is rational. But if the religion be already too rational, reform must be emotional. From the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries in India, to cite a remarkable illustration, Poetry became the renovator of Religion, the Maratha renaissance being founded on nothing else than the conviction that God is to be reached by *bhakti*—a worship of song. The only—or at all events the chief—rites were the *Kirtans*, or song services. The Oxford University Press has just issued an English edition of a little book printed at Mysore: Dr. N. Macnicol's *Psalms of Maratha Saints*. I should like to say of this book that it is an admirable example of the newer missionary spirit, which tries to see good and not evil in a system which it seeks to convert. The volume contains one hundred and eight Hymns, corresponding in number to the "one hundred and eight *tulsi* beads on the rosary worn by the Vaisnavite devotee."

These selections enable us to understand the nature of the revolt against the pantheistic philosophy of the Vedas. "Do not read the Vedas," urged Namdev (thirteenth to fourteenth century), "but repeat the praises of the Name." The most famous of these authors is Tukaram, who was born in 1608, and who "flourished" at the time when, in Gadgil's words, "the Maratha nation, long sunk under Mahomedan despotism, made a grand and successful effort to recover its independence, and established in the heart of the Mahomedan Empire a kingdom which within a hundred years shook to its foundations the Masnad or throne of the Great Moghal himself." It is interesting to see how in India, as in England in the seventeenth century, religious and political revival went hand in hand. Tukaram, after devastating experiences of famine, renounced the world, and his routine (quoting Gadgil again) was "to bathe early in the morning, to go to the temple of Vithoba and worship the idol, and then repair to the forest. . . . There he used to spend day after day in silent contemplation, returning to Dehu in the evening to

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sing his prayer and dance before Vithoba at night." Gadgil wrote in 1869, and you will note a contemptuous allusion to the "idol," which you will not find in Dr. Macnicol's more sympathetic exposition. At all events, according to Dr. Macnicol, Tukaram's verses "are more familiar throughout Maharastra than are (or were) in Scotland the Psalms of David or the songs of Burns." These verses, moreover, have given more nourishment to idealistic modern Indians than have the more ancient Vedas. Tukaram replaced the aristocratic Buddhism of the "way of knowledge," open to the few, by a democratic lyricism open to all. "Knowledge," said Tukaram, "is a stringless lute," so he strung the lute, giving his people a series of messages, "meant to be sung, not said, and inseparable, for a full appreciation, from their music." So that, while "all dumb the Vedas are," man might be "*made one with Brahma with a song.*"

Not in heaven I abide.
But those who sing my praises far and wide,
Within their hearts I hide.

Like the Psalmist, who would fain not die, but live to recount in lyrics the works of the Lord, these song-worshipping Indians yearned not for Nirvana but for life, in which to continue their songs. Nirvana was liberation from the pangs of re-birth. The Buddhist saint attained his ideal when he was no longer forced to endure re-birth into a fresh incarnation, which meant another pilgrimage in a world of empty desire. Tukaram repudiated this longing for "liberation."

Hear, O God, my supplication,—
Do not grant me Liberation.

As Dr. Macnicol comments: "Tukaram does not wish this gift (of absorption in the Supreme Spirit with its consequence that he will not be reborn); but desires to live in the world, experiencing the love of devotion as a Vaisnavite, a follower of *bhakti*." Tukaram does not aspire after the pallid joys of Nirvana, but would fain attain the warmer delight of a worship expending itself in song.

But that Name how strangely dear
That in songs of praise we hear!

Yea, thou [Krishna], dark as clouds that lower,
Knowest not thine own Name's power.

Ah, says Tuka, it is this
Makes our lives so full of bliss!

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V

The Lyric Mood of Acquiescence

THIS lyric outburst in India, while it illustrates the insistent interrelation of song and worship, did not result in an original hymnology. If one reads Tukaram, one feels that he seems (at all events in translation), a mere echo of Christian—that is ultimately of Hebrew—psalmody. Occasionally he points forward. These lines—

> Save me by whatso means
> Thou best may'st deem;
> No longer now I make
> Or plan or scheme,

are an earlier example of the mood in which Newman wrote "Lead, kindly light." Such fresh notes are rare in the Indian lyrics. Born in revolt, this lyric died in reaction. With the Psalms the case was different. The essence of the true lyric is found neither in revolt nor reaction, still less in independent creation. The lyric is responsive, it accepts, it surrenders. If occasion served, it might be shown that the note of revolt which distinguishes so many modern lyrics is a key to the changing relation of Poetry to Religion. That relation is found assuredly at its most intimate in an atmosphere of acquiescence. Thus the Psalmist is not set against prophet or lawgiver, scribe or priest, saint or warrior; he is in accord and alliance with all of these. One step is not enough for him; he knows or seeks to know the whole way. So, while Tukaram sings, often enough with a semi-Hebraic voice, in opposition to *his* scriptures, the Vedas, the Psalmist, always with a full Hebraic voice, finds in *his* scriptures the inspiration of his song. The Psalter was a Temple hymn-book, and the lyric was closely associated with the enactments of law. The Indian would emancipate himself from law by song, the Hebrew finds his lyric emancipation in law. The greatest of all the Psalms—greatest both in length and strength—is the 119th, with its eight-fold alphabetical acrostic, its 176 verses ringing the changes on the eight nomistic synonyms—law, testimony, way, precept, statute, commandment, judgment, word. Another Psalmist writes of his soul panting after God, thirsting for Him (Ps. xlii, 1-2). In the 119th Psalm, not only does the poet exclaim with the same mystic abandon (mystic abandon, be it noted, in a song of the law!)—

> My soul breaketh for the longing
> That it hath unto thy judgments at all times,

not only does he seek life in the law ("Quicken thou me in Thy ways,"

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he cries again and yet again), but he enunciates, as is nowhere else so finely enunciated in verse, the real moral and lyric paradox—freedom under law.

> I will walk at liberty
> For I have sought thy precepts.

The poet breathes deep breaths in a spacious air; he has lost the harassment of straitness. So he walks in a broad place, the law bringing both restraint and enlargement. It is not without import that Philo devoted a whole treatise to prove that freedom and morality are identical ("Quod omnis probus liber"); that the Talmud has the famous pun, "Read not *haruth* but *heruth*, read not *engraven* (on the tablets) but read *freedom*." Nor is it without significance that the greatest of our medieval Synagogue poets (Jehuda Halevi) thus expresses the same conviction:

> The slave of time, a slave of slaves is he,
> The servant of the Lord alone is free;
> Therefore when each his lot in life doth ask,
> Be God my portion, cries the soul in me!

Joy and Gratitude—the First Lyric Motives

THIS sentiment of freedom in service is not merely moral truth, it is lyric truth also. The lyric poet must indeed be free in self-expression, but he is also subject to an impulse outside himself, be that impulse God or Nature or an Ideal. He creates none of these, but he responds to them—the response ofttimes no doubt helping to give full being and compass to the outside impulse—but his mind is framed in the paradoxical attitude of spontaneity in response. The response is made sometimes in sorrow, sometimes in fear, but pre-eminently in joy. "I rejoice at Thy word as one that findeth great spoil" (Ps. cxix, 162). And how significant is the combination of terms in the phrase "the voice of joy and praise" heard from the throng going up to Zion's hill to keep holiday (Ps. xlii, 4).

(To be concluded)

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Jewish Law in the Modern World

A Study in Historic Fact and Fiction

By Nathan Isaacs

OUR readers will recall a previous article by Dr. Isaacs, entitled "In the Hope of the New Diaspora," in the August, 1919, issue. A portrait and biography of the author appeared in the same issue. Dr. Isaacs is now Professor of Law in the University of Pittsburgh, and Chairman of the Menorah Educational Conference.

WHOEVER was the first to classify all lies as white, black, and statistics, overlooked a most formidable class—half-truths. I doubt whether the pseudo-Isidore or the pseudo-Ingulf with their black lies, or our own pseudepigraphic authors with their white lies, or the advisers of his late majesty, William the Last, with their statistics, have wrought more havoc in theory and in practice than well-meaning generalizers from insufficient data. Take that great trilogy of half-truths, for example, that has supplied and continues to supply the text for many a sermon, the framework of many a book, the excuse for much inexcusable conduct! I refer to the attempt to explain all modern civilization as a heritage from three ancient peoples. The first half-truth is that we get our art and science from ancient Greece. The second, that we get our law from ancient Rome. The third, that we get our religion from ancient Israel.

It would be hopeless in a little essay or even in a library of essays to endeavor to destroy these mythological monsters. My aim is not so quixotic. *En meshibin 'al hadderush*—"a homily calls for no answer." It will be enough if I can weaken or circumvent some of the lies that now utterly bar the way of common sense in all matters pertaining to Jewish law.

I prefer to pass over the interesting question whether the Aristotle-superstition of the Middle Ages is the sole parent of modern science, and where modern science would have been if this superstition had not been banished.* I would rather leave untouched the genealogies of modern art and architecture, which have been so thoroughly traced in recent years that we can say to-day with some assur-

*Natural science did not progress during the many centuries in which it was entangled in the meshes of Aristotelian thought, and owes its modern development mainly to having extricated itself. Speculative philosophy, likewise, made but little progress as long as it moved in the path of Aristotle.

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ance that nothing happened suddenly even in the realm of artistic inspiration. It is no more adequate, for example, to attribute the Renaissance to a sudden, accidental rediscovery of ancient Greece than it is to attribute the Reformation to such a discovery of ancient Israel, or the Reception of Roman Law to a sudden rediscovery of ancient Rome. I am not keen to discover sources behind sources—endlessly. Nevertheless, it is well to remember that mankind had been many thousands of years on the earth. There had been great civilizations and cultures—with arts and sciences and laws and religions—before Hellas, Rome, and Palestine. The qualities which Santayana describes as Reason are inherent in human nature.

Do We Really Get Our Law from the Romans?

MY first concern is with the half-truth or fiction—so generally accepted as a truism—asserting our indebtedness to Roman Law. The latest, and on the whole the most pretentious and best book on Roman Law published in America, is an excellent, though I admit an extreme, illustration. In his *Roman Law in the Modern World* Professor Charles P. Sherman sees in all modern law that is worth while the touch of a single people, the Roman. He does not even divide the honors, as does Mr. Hannis Taylor, between the Roman Law and Anglo-Saxon institutions, by giving to the latter the future of public law, to the former the future of private law. What we call Anglo-Saxon law has been so thoroughly patched with Roman patches that practically nothing of the old fabric remains.

Before testing the theory, it is amusing to think what this method would lead to if applied to the religions of modern times—for example, Judaism. How much of the Bible is left in it and how much is there that is not of Hebraic or even of general Semitic origin? What has become, in practice, of tithes and sacrifices, of the hereditary priesthood and ritual purification? On the other hand, what is the source of the conception of a future life and the resurrection of the dead? Of what material is hell made, and who created the devils—yes, and the angels and other intermediaries? Whence this pluralistic theology along with a strict and genuine monotheism? Churches and prayers and sermons and a professional clergy—if these are Jewish, they are not of exclusively Jewish origin. The separation of Church and State, the isolation of religion from other phases of life, the very conception of religion as the cultivation of the emotional side of man—these are ideas which Jews share with their neighbors to-day, but where did they get them? I am not using Professor Sherman's method—I am merely suggesting how easily it might support the thesis that the Jewish element in religion has long been obscured if not displaced by foreign patchwork. I am afraid

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the method proves too much—in fact, it might prove anything. It might, for example, prove that there is very much law-Latin but very little Roman Law left in the so-called Roman Law countries. But this is not my purpose—it is only to ask, as a matter of common sense, whether we really get our law from the Roman masters of the ancient world.

I shall not go into ancient history to ask where the Romans got their law, whether the materials were the law of the city of Rome or the law of the *gentes*, whether some of the men who made a system of it all (e.g., the Syrian Papinian, the greatest, and the Phœnician Ulpian, the second in rank) had not Semitic blood in their veins—and whether the Slavonic Justinian, who never even lived in Rome, or Gaius, who probably spent his life in Asia Minor, or Tribonian, who certainly came from the same region, can be credited with having put a Roman racial stamp on the law that we call Roman.* If I am to arm myself with scepticism in approaching this mythological monster, I shall limit my scepticism to the post-Justinian history. To what extent is the law of to-day Roman?

The Heretical Truth About the Roman Law Myth

FIRST, we must strike out the body of public law, including criminal law, administrative law, and constitutional law. Constitutional government is not a Roman institution. Next we must eliminate the law of torts. It is true that this subject was feebly developed in Roman law and is poorly sketched in the Roman Law countries of to-day—but it would take a hardy Romanist to build a positive thesis of dependence on these negative premises. Next we must eliminate family law, which was remade by the Church on rather Judaic models; and if it were not for the fact that in the last centuries preceding Justinian's codification Christianity had already transformed the Roman laws of persons on the basis of the brotherhood of man, it is appalling to think how different a law of personal status might have fastened itself on Europe.

But, we are told, one thing is left: the greatest achievement of the Roman jurists was in working out the concept of Obligations, and particularly the Obligation of Contract. This statement is true, but quite apt to mislead if we forget the fact that the countries with Romanesque codes do not rely on these codes for the governance of commercial transactions—they have their own *Handelgesetzbücher* or *Codes de Commerce*.

*The inventiveness of the story-tellers, both ancient and modern, make such matters quite impossible to check. However, we do know that Roman civilization was originally a combination of Latin, Etruscan, and Greek elements, and that during the Empire it assimilated much of Oriental thought and practice.

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And if you will ask any lawyer what is the capstone of our law of contracts, he will, unless I am mistaken, point to the law of negotiable instruments. What did the Romans know about negotiable instruments? Absolutely nothing! Yet in the fifth and sixth centuries before the Christian era, more than a thousand years before Justinian was born, promissory notes, bills of exchange, checks on banks, the practice of endorsement, and the probative value of documents in a manner to establish the security of mercantile transactions, were thoroughly worked out by the Babylonians and well understood by the Jewish merchants, teachers and judges, who were beginning to flourish in the valley of the Two Rivers. That the banking houses of Babylon, that of the Egibis, for example, should have developed the machinery now used on Threadneedle Street and Wall Street, is interesting, and the question of the part played by Jews as intermediaries of these elements of civilization is at least worth the asking.

Again, if there is one legal institution that seems even more indispensable in modern business than documents of exchange, it is the principle that one may act through another. Courts have argued that *Qui facit per alium facit per se* ("He who does a thing by the agency of another does it himself") was axiomatic. (Co. Litt. 258a; cf. *Lyon v. Kent*, 45 Ala. 650.) But the modern world does not get the principle from Roman law—Roman law didn't have it. The principle comes from the Canon law. (Sext. V. 12, 72.) Where the Canon law drew its inspiration from is not easy to say—but may it not have drawn its legal notion of vicarious action and responsibility from the same sources as those which supplied its theological notions of vicarious sin and atonement? At least, to the Talmudists it was a matter of universal knowledge that *Sheluho shel adam kemoto* (Kiddushin, 41, 42)—"One's messenger is equivalent to one's self."

Examples need not be multiplied. It would probably be of little avail. When Conring, in the seventeenth century, cut off the head of the Roman law dragon by showing that Roman law had no statutory force in central Europe, it promptly sprouted two new heads: one, that Roman law was Reason,* and the other, that it represented the Divine Will. In fact, the Romanists of that age really started the trilogy of lies, by comparing Roman law to Biblical Revelation and declaring the Romans the Chosen People of the Lord for matters of law and government. What is the use of cutting off either of these heads, seeing that more will grow in their places? We will be told that even if Roman law is not of divine origin, its survival shows its fitness, and that even if it is not the embodiment of reason, its long acceptance has made it a part of the psycho-

*It is noteworthy that the same quality is given to Greek philosophy.

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logical and sociological background of the legal systems of the world, and accordingly it is a part of the warp and woof of civilization, and so forth. This dragon will die hard. Let us slip by while it sleeps.

Are the Jews Merely the Custodians of a Dead Past?

AND now the Jewish monstrosity must be grappled with. For the last hundred years this also has been a two-headed beast. Its old single head—the simple account of Revelation—was chopped off by Modern Science. To the Jews it now presents what seems a friendly head: even if the Sinai story is not to be taken literally, the Jewish people have manifested a peculiar religious genius; they have a Mission to the world, to teach what they are peculiarly fitted to understand, the dogma of monotheism. To the non-Jewish world an uglier head is shown: the Jews are a peculiar people; they may have had a function, but it has been served; their preservation as a people is an accident, a mistake, or, at least, an anachronism. Both of these theories have this in common: they suppress all elements of the Jewish contribution to the civilization of the world, except the religious. They ignore the fundamental fact that the Jews are a part of the human family and have all the traits of the human family, and that their experiences and reactions are accordingly both natural and interesting. Ethnic prejudice—anti-Jewish, I mean—would assert that the height of Jewish development was reached long ago. And Jewish ethnic prejudice, failing to see the significance of the insinuation, accepts the compliment addressed to the precocity and genius of the race, prates of its gift to the world through the diluted forms of the New Testament and the Koran, rejoices in its record of having preserved its treasure in a state of purity, and is willing to admit that nothing has happened in Judaism for the last two thousand years.

The serious insinuation is that the Jews are not a progressive people—and more than that, in fields other than their Mission, it doesn't seem to matter whether they are progressive or not. And so the influence of Jewish law in the modern world is one of a host of subjects that cannot be approached. If a deviation from the Bible is discovered in Jewish life or thought, it is not explained as such a deviation would be explained in the life of most other peoples, as a legitimate or commendable development of the older norm, but merely as a lapse from or misunderstanding of it. The whole Talmud thus became the garbled recension by and for rejected Israel; and deviations from the Talmudic standard must likewise be explained not as further development, but as lapses and misunderstandings.

Perhaps it is useless to attack even this two-headed monster with

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ordinary weapons. If it is demonstrated, for example, not only that Hebraic and non-Hebraic elements are thoroughly blended in that modern concept, religion, but also that Jewish life as a whole has presented from the beginning a natural development, and that even in the remotest past Israel was no mere religious recluse but lived a well-rounded life; if, indeed, the whole philosophy of chosen peoples and race functions and missions is challenged, who knows what hideous heads may be reared in place of the Priest People and the Ghost People ideas! Applied theology, political anti-Semitism, ethnic prejudice, and all the other causes having a vested interest in the doctrine that the Jews are a Peculiar People, *will* be served! Their doors to the Hall of Truth must be guarded. The most hopeful means of evading the dragon is through the least-guarded, almost neglected, door of disinterested scholarship.

"A Misunderstanding of Rabbinic Law"?

THAT even the door of scholarship has heretofore been closed to common sense with reference to phases of Jewish life, kept from view by the trilogy of half-truths, may perhaps be demonstrated by the examination of a concrete case. Let us take our illustration from the work of the foremost jurist of Europe—at least, since the death of Josef Kohler—Eugen Ehrlich of Czernowitz. Just before the war he had accepted an invitation from the Association of American Law Schools to come here and tell us about his Seminar of Living Law. The war deprived us of the privilege of hearing him, but you will find in the proceedings of the Association for 1914 an excellent summary of his views by Dr. William Herbert Page. I quote from this summary:

> "The law which is actually practiced by a race must be distinguished carefully from its theoretical law. In theory, the Jews of Bukowina observe the rabbinical law. As a matter of fact, most of them are profoundly ignorant of this law; and actually observe a number of usages which they have built up in comparatively recent times, and which have nothing whatever to do with the rabbinical law, or else are based upon a misunderstanding of its provisions."

In the passage on which this statement is based, it is only fair to say Ehrlich is not quite so sure as is his American interpreter that the living law of the Jews is based on a misunderstanding of Rabbinic law, and yet he plainly suggests that it is and adduces a most interesting example. The masses, he tells us, consider it unlawful for one Jew to take at an increased rental a store or house vacated by another Jew, though the lease of the latter has expired. That this notion has been a living force, whether it has ever been decreed law or not, is apparently attested by the experience of non-Jewish landlords. Yet Ehrlich has been informed, and correctly informed, that it is not to be found in the

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Talmud. Does his conclusion, or that of Dr. Page, with reference to ignorance and misunderstanding follow? Would we treat any other legal system that way, or would we not be nearer the truth in calling such deviations, even if brought in by spurious interpretation, developments of, rather than lapses from, the law?

Extending the Law to Cover a New Human Need

LET us examine, if only superficially, the facts in this case, merely to see whether Jewish law in the medieval world has been a living, growing organism, or the dead thing described as the "theoretical law" of a people. A glance at that handy volume, Mr. Eisenstein's *Ozar Haddinim*, a Digest of Jewish Law (1917), will reveal two aspects of the subject: as a wrong (crime or tort) it involves *hassagat gebul*, "removal of boundaries" (page 100); and if we consider the rights invaded or the interest to be protected, the broad principle of *hazakah* ("presumption," explained more fully below) is involved (page 129). In both of these connections there is a simple and convincing account of the conditions under which the rule in question arose.

Under the laws of the land limiting the rights of Jews to hold land, and in the utter failure of the crude European law of the Middle Ages to recognize such intangible assets as good will, it was easy for Christian landlords to "profiteer" by raising the rents of Jewish shopkeepers so as to tax out all the profits. Resistance on the part of the Jew would simply mean the renting of the premises to another Jew at a rack rent based on the value of the business that the first Jew had built up. The desirability of checking this system of making members of a persecuted community help in the persecution was apparent—but how could it be done? Jewish law as a system of what Dean Pound calls "social engineering" was put to the test in this as in hundreds of other details in the Middle Ages. Could it reach out to meet the new situation? If so, it could grow. If not, the law of the land would have been destined to become the law of the Jews on the subject in question. It did grow—and curiously enough, in different times and places it took care of the new situation by all of the three methods that Sir Henry Maine has enumerated for "Aryan" law—legal fictions, equity, and legislation.

Thus we learn that the Rabbanim sought and found a Mosaic basis for the protection of good will in the prohibition of the removal of boundaries. This discovery was, of course, spurious interpretation, extending the law by analogy. There was a kind of precedent for this extension in the Talmudic doctrine that he who interfered with a poor man's earning of a livelihood was a sinner. This principle is a departure from the letter that killeth in favor of the spirit that giveth life, almost marked

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enough to be called equity. But true equity, or the free magisterial application of general principles, is illustrated in the application of the principle of *hazakah* to the situation in question. Whatever the root idea of *hazakah* may be, whether "taking hold" or "strengthening," its various applications cover the various advantages in law of one who has presumptions in his favor. Such presumptions may arise from possession or from any other *status quo*, such as priority in the enjoyment of any advantage which the law conceives as capable of becoming the object of an exclusive privilege. Accordingly the doctrine of *hazakah* is broad enough to include good will and particularly the reasonable expectancy that a tenancy at will would not be terminated with *summum jus* and *summa injuria*. In some places, however, for one reason or another, the power of the Jewish courts to develop the law either by interpretation or through general principles of equity did not seem adequate to make the innovation required. We therefore have instances in which the innovation with reference to not outbidding fellow-Jews in the rental of their shops was made by conscious legislation or community compacts, for the enforcement of which special courts were in some cases provided.

A Living, Growing, Responsive Force

THE details of the distribution of these several methods of making the law grow, over the history of Jewish law in the Middle Ages,* need not be attempted here, as all that we looked into the case for seems plain on the surface. Jewish law grew. And it is not only unfair, but dangerous, to yield to the current tendency of the believers in the trilogy of half-truths, to look upon Jewish history in such phases as the legal side as having stopped two thousand years ago if it ever started at all. Valuable material for the study of the processes of legal development is brushed aside. A perfect illustration of the practical application of law to life is misbranded as an academic misconception. Life and growth are mistaken for death and decay.

But that is not all: the problem involved may, like the one before us, have a very modern bearing. In no place is modern business law weaker than in its dealing with such intangible assets as good will. Business has gone further in the recognition of such assets than the law has dared to venture. And the advance of Anglo-American law in this respect has been in such a jagged line that we simply cannot generalize to say either that good will is property or that it is not, that it is salable or that it is not, or that interference with it—with or without an evil motive

*Cf. *"The Law" and the Law of Change*, University of Pennsylvania Law Review, Vol. 65, pp. 659, 748.

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—is a tort or is not. Surely there is no little significance in the fact that the Jews of medieval Europe, under the stress of persecution, worked out a solution enabling society to step in and stop ruinous competition before it ruined society. Surely it is suggestive to think of the interest of society and of the individual in the continuation of the *status quo* as an interest that society can reach out and protect by the creation of appropriate rights.

But there is even a more striking loss suffered by the man who prejudges Jewish legal development as ignorance, perverse invention and misunderstanding. He overlooks the ethical import of the extension of the doctrine of *hassagat gebul* by a people that no longer had any boundaries to remove. In the Hebrew commonwealth, no doubt, as elsewhere in the ancient world, these ancient boundary stones had a sacrosanct character: "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark. And all the people shall say, Amen." (Dt. xxviii, 17.) But where in history will you find any finer illustration of elevating the spirit above the letter, than this act of the descendants of the Pharisees and successors to the Scribes, in extending the doctrine to a spiritual *hassagat gebul*? That the extension has met with general approval in Israel is shown by the further broadening of the doctrine in modern times so as to make out of it a law of copyright. In fact, in modern Hebrew the ordinary expression for infringement of copyright is simply *hassagat gebul*.

Finally, the acceptors of the trilogy are losing something even of the religion of Israel in failing to take seriously this Jewish law in the medieval and modern world. To recur to the illustration before us, religion furnishes the motive force in the creation of the law as well as the sanction to enforce obedience. It is precisely because Israel's experience under the law did not lead to a divorce of law from religion that a religious or ethical principle—*ve-ahabta le-re'aka kamokah*, "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—found an embodiment in the law of the working-day world.

* * *

Is Jewish law in the modern world, both among the Jews and among the nations, worthy of study? Yes, in spite of the myth that another race was endowed with a monopoly of legal genius. Yes, in spite of the myth that the Jewish genius was or is limited to non-legal fields. Yes, in spite of the friends as well as the foes of Jewish culture who may be a little too fond of the Mission or the *Functus Officio* idea. Yes, in spite of the whole trilogy of hoary lies!

Nathan Isaacs

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God's Kiss

A Talmudic Legend

By Martin Feinstein

AND Moses bowed himself before the host
Of Israel, and prayed for death:

"O Lord,
Until the last the love of life prevailed,
And garrisoned my heart against this hour.
There is a gathering darkness that compels
My lips to silence; all the light is gone
Out of my heart, out of my days at last,
And I am set for death." And Joshua,
And Ithamar, and all the host were still,
While Moses prayed, and all the winds were still,
And all the rivers. Then was the voice of the Lord
Heard in the heavens, calling for Gabriel,
And Gabriel came. "Go, fetch me Moses' soul!"
And Gabriel stood before the Throne and wept:
"I am too humble, Lord, for who am I
To face the myriad brightness of his soul?
I am too humble, Lord." So Michael too,
Reluctant, self-abashed, and drooping wings.
Then God called Zagzagel: "The hour is come.
Go thou and fetch me Moses' soul!" Who said:
"Lord of the world, then let this hour disrupt
My wings of speed, my lips of song, my heart
Of love; I cannot go. Have I not been
His father and his teacher?" Then Samael:
"Lord of the world, his hour has come indeed.
The withered leaf clings to the sapless branch,
Until a wind blows by, and the leaf is flung
Frantically down into the dust.
I am the wind and I shall blow him down.
Is he then more than was the first of men,
Whom Thou didst fashion and make like to Thee?
Or greater than that Abraham, Thy friend,
Who sought the flames of death in praise of Thee?
Or more than Isaac was, or Jacob was,

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Or all his sons? Lord of the world, Thou knowest
Not one of these escaped me. Give me charge,
And Samael shall fold his wings and drop
Swift as a blazing comet through the sky,
Scorching the screaming eagles in his flight,
Swift as the word of death. I'll fetch his soul."
And God replied: "O Samael, thy words
Rumble against the very vaults of heaven
With boastfulness. For he is great indeed,
Greater than any of the sons of men,
More radiant than the angels of My Throne.
Nor hope to draw his soul from out his face,
For that it once has looked upon My Face;
Nor from his holy hands, for they have touched
My Hands and clasped My Torah; nor his feet,
That stood upon My clouds. O Samael,
There is no way, for all thy words and wit,
For all the fury of thy blazing wings,
For all the thunder of thy sword of death."
And Samael: "Nay, Lord, an it be so,
And I am but a shadow and a breath,
And I am but a gammer's idle tale,
Told unto credulous babes, still let me go."
And God said: "Go."

So Samael went forth,
And all the heavens echoed with his laughter,
Girded himself with cruelty and wrath,
And his great sword. Then spread his heavy wings,
And dropped like a flaming portent through the skies,
And stood with Moses. "I am Samael,
And I have come to fetch your soul to God!"
And Moses said no word, but round his face
There glowed a great and constant radiance,
A brightness that excelled the very sun,
And broke like spears of flame from out his eyes,
More terrible than any Seraphim,
Till Samael grew dim and hesitant,
And troubled, and possessed with agony,
And had no word to say. And Moses called:
"Samael, Samael, art thou come indeed?
Unto the wicked there shall be no peace!
Spread thy gross wings in flight, lest I approach
And hew thee to the ground!" And like an oak
Caught in the counter-currents of a storm,
Samael shook and trembled; "O my master,

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I have but come to bear thy soul away,
Unto the Lord of all the world and souls."
And Moses cried: "My soul is of the Lord,
And only the Lord shall take it!"

And Moses bowed
Before the silent hosts of Israel,
And prayed for death. And God came down in a cloud
And kissed him on the mouth and took his soul.

Martin Fewkes

From a drawing by Lilien

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Reveries of the Vanished Pale

By Herman Jacobsohn

WITH a Yiddish newspaper before me picturing the present appalling conditions of Eastern Jewry, my mind glided back to that romantic and mysterious world of mine in the Pale of a decade and a half ago. I could at first form no images. My thoughts were wandering. Then it dawned on me that that world had passed away in the last few years—never to come back again. And my emotions swept over me with the suddenness of a sea squall.

After a while my images became clearer, and like shadows across a moon-flooded night they moved before my closed eyes. The ancient dreamy synagogue, the noisy little school, the gray-bearded rabbi in his skullcap and shining gaberdine—crowded upon my fancy.

What an event it marked in a child's life when he was taken to *Heder* (Hebrew school) for the first time! The whole household prepared weeks before for the marvelous day. And when it came it was celebrated with delicacies of holy savor, with benedictions and thanksgiving.

Wrapped in a large black-and-white striped prayer-shawl the little one was carried with affectionate hugs and good-wishes, through the freshly fallen snow of early autumn, to the place where he was to partake of first communion with the mysteries of eternal life. With parents, rabbi, and a group of curiosity seekers bending over his head, the *Heder-kind*, sitting on a bench near the table, was introduced at the end of a short wooden pointer to the curves, cusps, and crotchets of the Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth. Showers of sweetmeats or—in case of indigence—commonplace lumps of sugar came down from above to incite zeal and to discourage venturesome guessing.

The whole family pinched and scrimped and saved—that the *Heder*

HERMAN JACOBSOHN was born in Wilna, Lithuania, "probably in 1886." "I went to Heder till—well, till I ran away the third time and my relatives and the community gave up the task of keeping me at it. Then I worked as chores boy on farms, stable boy, drove teams, and acted as man-of-all-work in a little town near Dvinsk. I must have been at the end of my teens when I came to America. Here I have worked in tanneries, shops, factories, on farms, have peddled newspapers, sold hog plucks and pork chops for Swift & Co. I must also own to the weakness of letting them graduate me from Northwestern University, college of liberal arts, and of having hoboed my way through the Middle West. . . . I have taught school and lectured at the Workers' Institute, Chicago, and have contributed to the better-class English-Jewish weeklies. . . . I have been a reporter for a while, and have written special articles for the Chicago Tribune. I have also had a considerable amount of fiction published in some of the lesser publications."

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boy might have the best morsel to take along to school. For here he had to spend all day, studying lessons and playing in the open air. There were no bells, no drills, no markings. There was no apparatus for moral suasion—except a soft and pliable little bunch of young twigs securely thrust away behind the spar in the ceiling as a monitor for "bad boys."

* * *

ONCE master of the alphabet, he was introduced to the company of great men, wise and just beyond the limitations of earth. There were wonderful adventures, daring innovations, floods, migrations—to arouse the imagination. There were heroes, righteous leaders, almost superhuman lawgivers, and martyrs. There were stories about mighty prophets flaming with an unquenchable passion for righteousness fed from the heart of Creation.

What huge, bold personalities! In what majesty they hovered before our eyes; yet how modest they were. There was Father Abraham. So independent of thought that he dilly-dallied with his old man's pet divinities when still a wee bit of a shaver; so wise and just that Jehovah himself took him into His counsels. With what glee we youngsters—even the unimaginative ones—chuckled over the Patriarch's iconoclastic adventures! How happy we were when the angels came to tell him that his seed would be even as the sand of the sea; and how sad we felt when he was told that they would dwell as strangers in lands not their own. How solemn we were when we beheld with him the vision revealing the Egyptian bondage; and what a relief it was to know that it would be followed by triumphant redemption. How we trembled throughout the story of the sacrifice of Isaac. With our own little feet we ran alongside the father and the son as they marched to the sacrificial spot. How our hearts would stand still for fear lest this time the ram in the thicket break away before we got there!

Then the story of Hagar with her wayward son wandering in the wilderness. It brought to our nostrils a breath of the great open, and every fiber of our little hearts felt the desolation of the poor weeping mother. And we were all so glad when she discovered the fountain. We stooped with her and slaked our own thirsts.

And Father Isaac—though we somehow could not share his life so completely. He had apparently stayed a bachelor too long to be lovable. Dominated by pride in his descent he had lived alone till forty, and then betrayed the weakness of all old bachelors by falling for a wee thing in short skirts,—about thirty-seven years his junior.

But wonderful, good-natured Jacob! He was our pride. Only we resented his letting himself be outwitted by Laban,—that crusty Meso-

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potamian trickster with his bleary-eyed daughter and sharp bargains. As we grew a bit older and noticed the preponderance of unattractive women we attributed the phenomenon to the marvelous fecundity of Leah, and the relative scarcity of beautiful women to the long barrenness of Rachel. Rachel! Pretty, maidenly Rachel! How we loved her! To those of us who were motherless, she was at once mother and sweetheart. Her death was a bereavement to us. It left a gap in our hearts, and we promised ourselves that when we grew up we would visit her grave, —if we had to go there barefooted. But we were glad, since she could not live forever, that she died before the whole pack grew up and darkened the life of Jacob with their petty bickerings and abominable squabbles.

Then came the story of Joseph and his brethren, which never lost its charm. As we kept reviewing it year in and year out, every word of it sent a thrill through us. The cave full of serpents—the gipsy band—the sale—the service—the temptation by his master's wife—the prison and the dream—the royal robes—and then the meeting with his younger brother—where is there a parallel in all literature? No wonder we children kept reading and re-reading it till we could read no more.

Then the slavery of Egypt. How impatient we were with the slaves who would not be freed. Long and dolefully did our rabbi dwell on this weakness deep-rooted in the heart of man. We could bear studying the portion only because we knew beforehand of the ultimate liberation by the lawgiver, leader, and teacher. And here the rabbi would point to the absence of military fanfaronade, vain bragging, and arrogant swagger, and launch upon a lengthy commentary on the Biblical characterization of Moses as "the meekest of men."

* *

AS we grew older our studies demanded our more serious attentions. From early morning till late at night we sat on wooden benches along the broadside of a wooden table and recited in a loud Oriental chant the deeds of men who were so great that they were humble. With what vehemence we raised our voices as we declaimed the prophet's vision of a future when the lowly would have justice; transgressors would have mercy; the widow and the orphan would be requited for their bereavement; the laborer would receive the fruits of his toil; when the lion and the lamb would lie side by side; when swords would be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning-hooks, and the art of war be learned no more.

With his left hand in his girdle, his right waving in the air as if directing an invisible orchestra, the rabbi—tall, dignified, shrouded in an atmosphere of some ancient mystery and romance—kept walking diagonally across the room as he helped us intone the sonorous passages, rising

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higher and higher till we soared up into worlds of everlasting sunshine.

And there was not a child—however poor and forsaken—who had to go without a *Heder*. We might not be able to attend the secular schools, for the only privilege we enjoyed there was the privilege of paying taxes. But all could go to *Heder*—the most indigent and the cast-off. Even I, who fully qualified on both counts—and many more besides—and did not even belong to any particular town, for I was born on a farm hundreds of miles from my *Heder*—could have studied as long as I wanted, were it not for the uncomplimentary qualities of my brains.

The *Hedorim* for the more prosperous existed on tuition, which in principle was not payment but rather a fee which the rabbi had to have to keep teaching. The *Heder* I attended in Illukst was supported by a poor old widow living on the monthly allowance of ten rubles (then about five dollars) sent by her son from America. From early morning till late at night she labored collecting coppers, cast-off garments, hunks of bread, handfuls of potatoes, and what-not, to keep up a *Heder* for the orphaned, the impoverished, the deserted children of the town. Day in and day out, winter or summer, you could have met her in the street. She toiled and moiled and trudged and sweated with heavy sacks on her back—to keep burning the light kindled by the ancient sages of Israel.

Her trials knew no bounds. Among the two or more dozen children under her care, I, for instance, though only about six years old, had a knack far greater than any other child of double that age, of catching and hanging on to the most unheard-of ailments. I had a sort of uncanny attraction for them. The old woman was a stranger to me. But the moment she found me ailing she would take me to her one-room home and place it completely at my service. Then she would fetch one or two of her gratuitous doctors, run around to the drug stores till she got free medicine, and nurse me and feed me and pray for me and invoke the dead and plague the living, till she had me out of the miserable thing. And just then, as if wickedly trying her patience, I would plunge forthwith, with even more thoroughgoing whole-heartedness, into another ailment.

Would she lose hope? Would she complain? Why, it was impious to murmur. She would promptly relegate some of her other activities to a few of her trusty lieutenants, offer up a completely new set of prayers, and begin all over again. What else was there to do? That was the way it had pleased the Infinite Spirit to arrange life; and it was worse than idle for mere mortals to make any bones about it.

After *Heder* came the *Yeshibah*—for the gifted ones—where one studied the Talmud, that curious, all-embracing mixture of metaphysics, science, jurisprudence, ethics,—that storehouse of romance, fairy tale,

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noble and pure legend, myth, parable, allegory, saga—that boundless sea of inspiration fraught with golden argosies and resounding with mysterious, often wild and weird chimes of bygone ages. They who mock—what know they of the raptures of the dreamy mariner who embarks on these strange deeps and bends on the oar to muse in rhythm with these fantastically streaming fairy-lands?

* *

ONE of the finest *Yeshibahs* in Dvinsk was conducted by an old man and his hunchbacked little wife. The young scholars came from far and near, "registered" with the rabbi, and immediately betook themselves to the study of the Talmud. And the wizened little bundle of otherworldly dreams would begin to pother among her extensive clientele scattered over the whole city; one would give her half a loaf of bread on Monday, another a handful of flour on Tuesday, another a spoonful of tea or coffee on Wednesday, another a discarded shirt or an ancient pair of trousers on any day. Some of her patrons were well-to-do enough to feed a scholar one day out of every week—gave him "a day," in the parlance of the Ghetto. And while the scholars pored over the Talmud late at night, she sat before a dim lamp designing patches for their garments, which had a way all their own of getting themselves rent.

Yet she and the woman I mentioned before were the pride and pattern of most of the Jewish women in their respective communities. And the name of the old scholar was spoken in exalted whispers by men, in spite of his raw poverty which even his dignity could not hide. My father, I recall, in some of his most ambitious moments, prayed fervently for one of my brothers—whose childhood precocity made him entertain extravagant, albeit pious, hopes for the subsequent renegade—to grow up as great and wise a man as this rabbi.

Come with me for a moment to his *Yeshibah* during the late watches of the night. As you near it your ear is struck by a warmly intoned articulation. You take a glimpse through the window and your eye falls on a tall, thin youth with a pale face and wild-running curls round a battered cap, swaying backward and forward to the flicker of a tallow candle guttering at the head of a tawny folio spread open before him. He twines his lean long fingers in his tousled forelocks and pulls to the ceaseless ripple purling from his lips. Suddenly his hands clasp and his fingers interlace in front of his chest and his body sways to the crescendos and diminuendos of a solemn largo-like melody that becomes more and more spirited and then bursts into a rhythm of elevating and plastic intensity. Gradually his voice grows meditative, faint. Then suddenly the flaps of his long black coat begin fluttering nervously and his body leaps

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to an ecstatic harmony resembling an oratorical cantata, which grows more and more sculpturesque, firm, incisive. Watch him become reflective again. His hands lock behind his back, his face corrugates like a clouded sea before a rustling gale, his tall brow contracts to half its height, and he sinks his head in the folio. Then lightning-like his upturned right thumb sweeps a huge arc through the air and his voice breaks in a joyous interpretation of the suddenly visualized intellectual and emotional reality, which seems of such elevating significance. For it towers in his fancy in a refrain, though tinged with sorrow—in a refrain that falls from his lips in caressing cadences breathing a message of indestructible faith—that somehow in the future deliverance shall be brought to himself and all mankind.

The *Heder* and the *Yeshibah* emanated a spirit which influenced every phase of our lives. Long, long after we had left them they continued beckoning us. When we could spare a moment from our daily tasks we would drop into the *Beth Hamidrash* (House of Learning) to look into a *sefer* (book). He who was unable to understand a *sefer* found abundant help. For there were learned men retained by the community to expound the Law and the Torah to the uneducated; so that one's schooling never ended. At evening twilight, and especially on the Sabbath, these men taught, narrated stories, made parables.

* *

BUT the crowning glory of all life in the Pale was the Sabbath,—the beautiful, holy Sabbath. How can one attempt to describe the intangible, evanescent glory of it. It was a symphonic poem fashioned out of sunshine and moonbeams, glowing with a spirituality not of earth. It was a day set aside for the purpose of being more than merely man. On that day even the meanest felt himself king of creation, and throbbed with the mysterious marvels of being.

Every nook and corner was scoured and scrubbed. The very humblest beggar bathed in devout purity, and abandoned himself to the intoxication of the beauty of the "additional soul" that was supposed to descend from Heaven and dwell in him that day. There was a Sabbath music to the words we spoke, announcing love and kindness to all things.

In the afternoon the older folk, after the usual nap, betook themselves to the *Beth Hamidrash*. And soon the House of Learning was resounding with the nasal recitations of the Talmudists. Their voices, ranging from rich, broad bass to silky, warm tenor, gradually fused into one mighty chant of beatitude that could be heard far away. Now and then one of them would pause and intersperse his improvisation with impromptu passages that I later recognized in Schubert's famous sere-

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nade or in some of the affectionately lyrical movements of Lalo's Spanish symphony or in an oratorio by Bach or Handel. Often this mingling of voices broke out in a unison that resembled the rich and poetic, almost bravura sonority of the wine-toned 'cello under the magic finger-flight of a master. And above all this humming symphony floated the pastoral rhapsody of the Psalm singer.

Some Talmudists were absorbed in acute legal theses, others were fathoming some nice distinctions of ethics. Many hummed worldly wisdom. And if you had sat in a corner and listened you might have overheard such disjointed passages as these:

"If thou wouldst eschew sin, think of whence thou comest and whither thou goest. . . . Four shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven; the scoffer, the liar, the hypocrite, the slanderer. For to slander is to murder. Rather be thrown into a fiery furnace than bring anyone to public shame. . . . Whoever lives unmarried, lives without joy, without comfort, without blessing. . . . If thy wife be small, bend down to her. . . . In choosing a wife descend a step; in choosing a friend ascend a step. . . . He who marries for money, his children shall be a curse to him. . . . Let the honor of thy neighbor be to thee as thine own. . . . If there is anything bad about thee say it thyself. . . . He who is ashamed will commit no sin. . . . Commit a sin twice and thou wilt think it perfectly allowable. . . . Do not say, I am a holy man, a great man, and therefore cannot work: there is no shame in skinning carcasses in the street, if thou canst make thy living no other way. . . . Teach thy tongue to say no. . . . If all thy friends agree in calling thee an ass, then better get thyself a halter."

* *

THE most beautiful moment came at vespertime, just before the outgoing of the Sabbath, about half an hour before stars appeared. The public teacher sat at the head of a long wooden table surrounded by standing and sitting artisans, mechanics, peddlers, traders, who hung open-mouthed upon every word that came from the skullcapped patriarch shrouded in the dusk. He recited by heart passages from the Mishna or Zohar, and then commented with a profusion and profundity bordering on the thoroughness of the Variorum Edition of Shakespeare—perhaps even more hair-splitting and fine-spun. He spoke of the origin of the world, of its structure; of mysterious relations between God and man, or of festivals, feasts, marriages, divorce, property relations; or of the sympathy in nature between all living things, dumb and articulate.

And with what a joy the faces of the listeners beamed! True, we did not understand much of what was said. But the music of the intona-

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tion, the twilight shadows enshrouding us, and the softness and glow of the meditative atmosphere, made us forget the raw hardships and mean toils, the worries and anguish that the weekday life in the Eastern Pale entailed. We were carried into magic lands and sloughed off all crude realities, and caught a glimpse, as it were, of bodiless, spaceless, and timeless existence.

* *

ALAS! this magic world is now disintegrated and vanished. In the East it will never thrive again. Here in the West it has never taken root and perhaps never will. I confess, in my own case, as well as in the case of many other Eastern Jewish immigrants with whom I have worked in tanneries, packing plants, factories, shops, department stores, on farms —I confess that there is hardly a trace of it to be found in the life of any of us except perhaps a deep hankering for it, which expresses itself now and then in a sigh or a word betokening bitter cynicism. We become acclimatized quickly enough; and we grind gum and talk glibly about football scores, bet on the races and play poker and sputter slang better than the best thousand-percent American. But gone from us is all that wonder and charm of human life,—all that atmosphere hovering over man which distinguishes him from the toiling ox,—faded away under the influence of the counting room, where all who will not conform to the dictates of the ledger are considered crack-brained,—where dreamers and thinkers are classed with children, criminals, and lunatics,—where poetry and fancy, if not negotiable in the coin of the realm, are regarded as imbecility,—where charlatans and butchers are considered heroes, and poets and philosophers crazy.

* *

IT was a fair world that is now vanished. But beautiful or ugly, the past must be interred and forgotten—if one is to live and unfold, and grow strong. Our chaotic, coarse, and materialistic Present shall not dishearten us. For it is transitory. It shall soon pass away. The dawn of a new day is flushing on the horizon. The Jew everywhere must build a new life. Let us be patient with the twilight—even though it is gloomy and gruesome. The new day shall be even more beautiful than the one that has just died and vanished,—if we only will it so.

Herman Jaedtsohn

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Other-Worldly Conversations

By Ibn Meir

[The first and second of these imaginary Conversations—involving characters in Jewish history and fiction—appeared in the April, 1920, issue of The Menorah Journal.*]*

III

Bar-Kochba and Simon the Christian

Simon He sleeps too well. It is a great pity. The battle has gone hard for us. We are driven like jackals to the caves. A little while and the Romans will be hunting us out of all our rendezvous. Is it the end? The tents of Jacob were beautiful, but a great storm has crushed them to the ground —and there are no more builders in Israel. Ah, he is awake.

Bar-Kochba I hear you, my friend—a great storm—and no more builders. Am I ill?

Simon Most grievously unwell, my lord. Their swords hacked and cut you in fury, till they left you lying in the field like a broken oak. Then I dragged you off to this cave, and washed your wounds, and bound them.

Bar-Kochba I do not know you.

Simon A matter easily disposed of, my lord. I am Simon ben Joel, of the Christian sect.

Bar-Kochba A Christian?

Simon And a Jew! For I have fought in the ranks of your army, in Cabul, in Sichim, in Rimmon, and in Bethar.

Bar-Kochba Ah, Bethar! Simon—if you are my friend—give me my sword—nay, take it yourself—and pierce me! I cannot live—after Bethar. I prayed for death.

Simon But God gave you life.

Bar-Kochba A bitter gift, Simon! And Jerusalem?

Simon Now lives only in our hearts, Bar-Kochba. The Romans have drawn the plow over its holy ground and settled it with Phoenician and Syrian spawn. It is an imperial city now, Aelia Capitolina!

Bar-Kochba I prayed for death—give me my sword. Ah, you are no friend of mine, Simon—else, you would let me die.

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Simon Are there not enough of us dead? Besides, my lord, it will be for only a little while. God will soon heed your prayer, after all!

Bar-Kochba That is good news, Simon. The trunk has been blasted—and the roots draw sap for a space—but will soon shrivel up too. I think you're telling the truth, my friend. My voice sounds strange to my own ears—like the far-off beating of a bell—far-off and strange——

Simon I did not wish to tell you, my lord. When I carried you away from Bethar, you were in a deep faint, but I hoped you would live.

Bar-Kochba My task is done, Simon. I have been a whirlwind to Romans. But now I am undone. It is well. The tree is blasted to the roots—and must be dug out—and another planted. But another must be planted—in my place, Simon.

Simon There is none like you, my lord!

Bar-Kochba Simon, you say you are a Christian?

Simon Truly, my lord.

Bar-Kochba But you love Jerusalem?

Simon With my life, my soul!

Bar-Kochba You know, Simon, so many of your sect——

Simon I know, my lord, most of them love the gospel but not the nation, and have been indifferent spectators to the oppression of Rome. But in my heart there is room for both gospel and nation. And there are many like me.

Bar-Kochba Nay, all too few, my friend. For most have been but spies in the service of Severus—ferreting out our dissensions—and our hunger.

Simon My lord, the honor of our nation found strong hearts even in the midst of our sect, though it clove brother from brother and father from son!

Bar-Kochba Aye, you have served me loyally, my friend. But the old oak is split to the core, Simon!

Simon I hear, my lord!

Bar-Kochba I cannot see you so well. What manner of tree are you?

Simon My lord?

Bar-Kochba It must be a stalwart tree—tempered in the storms of Rimmon and Bethar—to take root—where I have fallen, where a whole forest of trees has fallen. Simon, new days are come upon us. The old weapons have been broken in battle—and Rome must be fought with a new craft—until

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Jerusalem is redeemed. I am urging a mighty trust upon you, Simon—and you may prove but a reed in the wind of events.

Simon Give it to me in charge, my lord! I am no weakling, but a true lover of Jerusalem and our people.

Bar-Kochba Then God be witness between us. Strange times are coming upon us, and some day your sect will find favor with Rome, for good or ill. And you, Simon, and all true lovers of Zion, shall work as a leaven among the Christians. In the day of your strength remember Jerusalem—and her children—that they may not mourn forever. In the courts of kings—and in the streets of the lowly—in the assemblies—and in the marketplaces—by day and by night—until the hope of Zion is spread like a bond of flame between their hearts. Until what we have lost at Bethar is re-won in distant and unknown lands beyond the seas. Until the power and the spirit of Rome is a legend scratched in the sand, and Jerusalem is delivered.

Simon Let God be witness between us!

Bar-Kochba Is it night, Simon, or is the darkness of death upon me? I am—content.

Simon O my lord, my lord!

IV

Mr. J. Cohen and His Conscience

Cohen Come in! Ah, there he is again—that fresh guy. Good morning, Mr. Conscience!

Conscience Fine morning, Mr. Cohen. Am I intruding?

Cohen Well, I don't know. You seem to be making yourself at home, all right. But shut the door, please. I don't want Mrs. Cohen to hear you. She's got an original line all her own, without getting new notions from you on how to run her husband.

Conscience Mr. Cohen, I've come for your sympathy.

Cohen I'd like to believe it.

Conscience The trouble is that I've been getting too soft-hearted.

Cohen Impossible. I never saw any symptoms of it.

Conscience Well, it's a fact. But I've decided to put a stop to all such weakness. It will bring no results. Mr. Cohen, you are my first victim to-day.

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Cohen Thanks for the honor!

Conscience What's that you were reading, Mr. Cohen, just before I came in?

Cohen Oh, a bit about that plucky Aaronsohn girl in Palestine. How the Turks arrested her for spying—here it is: "She was beaten on the soles of her feet with a green twig, her teeth were pulled out, and hot bricks were placed under her arms to make her speak. She refused, and was taken to Damascus, where she shot herself." Well, that's what I call a sad story.

Conscience So you feel sorry for the girl, Mr. Cohen?

Cohen And who wouldn't?

Conscience Yes, I suppose it touches your heart, all right. You feel sorry for her—so sorry. But you know, Mr. Cohen, I'm a good deal of a sceptic, and I really can't understand how a man who has just stuffed himself full of appetizing pickled herring, two plates of lokshen soup, roast duck, cantaloupe a la mode, and good Havana smoke, can feel great sorrow for anything or anybody. I couldn't do as much myself.

Cohen But I tell you I am sorry!

Conscience Well, I'm willing to give you the benefit of the doubt. Let's take it for granted that you're really very sorry. Now, my dear Mr. Cohen, that's as far as it ever goes with you—you feel sorry for Sarah Aaronsohn—for the pogrom victims—for the disabled Jewish soldiers—for the beggar in the streets—for anybody—without respect to race, color, or creed. You have a large heart, Mr. Cohen, but an empty hand. You're full of sympathy and advice, but there's no room for one generous bit of action. I'm pretty personal, Mr. Cohen. You're what I call a camouflage Jew!

Cohen Bah! I've heard your bunk before, Mr. Conscience, and this time I'm going to call a halt to it. Listen to me. Of course it's a personal matter. I'm a liberal man, but there are some things I can't stomach. What call have you to come here and preach to me about my being only a camelflage Jew? And what kind of a Jew do you think you are yourself? Ten years ago you were Mr. Jake Conshefsky. Now you're Jacques Conscience, with a French accent, and as full of fine airs as a cat with kittens. Ten years ago I was Jacob Cohen, and to-day I'm still Jacob Cohen. It's a Jewish name, and I'm proud of it!

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Conscience My dear Cohen, I'm glad to see you getting hot over the matter. You pride yourself on your Jewishness because you tag yourself Jacob Cohen. What's in a name? Very little in yours. Very little of anything Jewish. That's why I called you a camouflage Jew. Your Jewishness is merely a matter of having Jewish trade, of accumulating Jewish dollars in your treasury. You think that your Jewish name will serve to cover the vast lack of Jewishness in your life. But Conscience is a great persuader. Perhaps. By the way, Cohen, do you ever read anything besides the newspapers?

Cohen Well, what do you think I am—a loafer like you? I want you to understand that I'm a busy man all day long—and at night—well—at night the doctor said a little pinocle now and then would settle my stomach and rest my mind. But since you ask me—yes—I read the Trade Journal.

Conscience Well, my friend, I'm not a book-agent, but there's one book I wish most respectfully to call to your attention. It's the best seller to-day.

Cohen I thought you said you're not a book-agent? Look here, I don't want any of your best sellers. I don't like novels. They're all wish-wash. If the hero and the hero-ine feel so bad about it, why the devil don't they get married, and have it over with?

Conscience The book I'm recommending is the Bible.

Cohen The Bible! I thought you said——

Conscience I didn't say it was a novel. I only said it was the best seller.

Cohen Well, the Bible; that's different. But what's a businessman like myself want to read the Bible for?

Conscience That's it, Mr. Cohen. You just called yourself a businessman. You're a partnership of "business" and "man." You've built up the business end of it wonderfully. But what have you done for the "man" part of it? And since you're really proud of being a Jew, what have you done to make that "man" Jewish? Of course, Mr. Cohen, the Bible may not be in the same class with pinocle—as a stomach settler.

Cohen Well, that's what the doctor——

Conscience Oh, I believe you all right, Mr. Cohen. The doctor's a specialist in stomachs. You're a specialist in business. And I'm a specialist in Jewishness. Now, what can I do for you?

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Cohen Well, all I've got to say is you're a pretty slick fellow!

Conscience Think of it, Cohen, I have to recommend the Bible to a Jew! That's pretty sad, isn't it? Still, there's hope for you, as long as you're not one of those who zealously seek to scrub every vestige of Judaism from their souls and fly from it as from a plague. And I mean the Bible only as a portal to enter into the whole experience of Jewish history. By the way, Mr. Cohen, do you know Babe Ruth?

Cohen Do I? Why, at the last game I saw him knock——

Conscience And Charlie Chaplin?

Cohen Look here, are you trying to make a fool of me?

Conscience Not at all. You're the one that's making a fool of yourself, and a mockery of your Jewish inheritance. You're galvanic with enthusiasms for all sorts of diversions, but you haven't time to find out why you're a Jew. You wouldn't treat your customers the way you treat your ancestors. You can tell me the batting average of every man on your home team, but you don't know whether Maimonides is the name of a Pullman car or of a Greek confectioner. Frankly, Mr. Cohen, as a Jew you're pretty much of a ghost.

Cohen Why, Mr. Conscience, I weighed myself just the other day, and——

Conscience I mean you're minus a great many things that are necessary for a Jewish life. I don't expect you to break your neck acquiring them all at once, but you can make a reasonable start. Suppose you get a set of Graetz's "History of the Jews," and every time you feel tempted to settle your stomach with a game of pinocle, open your book and read a chapter in it, and in time you will realize that to be a Jew carries with it a tremendous significance. The trouble with you, Mr. Cohen, is that you underrate your own importance.

Cohen You're funny! That's the first time anybody accused me of such a thing.

Conscience I mean that you don't worry much about what's going to happen to Judaism when you're dead. You try to believe that it doesn't matter much what kind of a Jew you are, as long as Reb Mendele and Itzik Parnes continue to bear the banners aloft. Well, it's indifference such as yours that cripple Judaism. Mr. Cohen, please get it into your head that you're necessary to Judaism; that as long as you're on

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the team, you've got to bat your hardest. But you needn't take to wearing *paias* on my account. There's something else you can do, though, without having to mutilate your good looks. If you had more brains than money, I'd sing a different tune to you; but, as it happens, it's the other way round, so you'll have to let your money talk for you, and to good effect. Now, Mr. Cohen, what I want you to do is to become a missionary.

Cohen Why, Mr. Conscience! I'm ashamed to hear you talk that way to me. A missionary!

Conscience A Jewish missionary, of course—a good missionary—to spread a knowledge of Judaism—not among the Melanesians, but among the Cohens, and the Levis—home talent, of course. So your doctor recommended pinocle.

Cohen Didn't I tell you?

Conscience And I understand you're a pretty regular loser—though a good sport.

Cohen Hm——

Conscience Well, it's going to be a hard fight, I suppose, to turn you into an educational institution. Very well, Mr. Cohen, the next time I call, it'll be with a long list of Jewish educational causes for which you're going to sweat good and proper. I'll give you a few days to get ready. Count up plenty of loose change in the meantime. I'm going to find out what kind of a sport you are. And you're going to find out what kind of a Jew you are.

Cohen Well, Mr. Conscience, I've got to hand it to you for being such a fine businessman. And you've got some pretty good ideas about things, only you get so darned personal.

Conscience But that's just why I have such good ideas, Mr. Cohen. Otherwise, your old friend Jacques Conscience would evaporate into a foggy system of transcendental ethics. You wouldn't want that to happen to him, would you?

Cohen Well, no. I don't wish you any hard luck. But what's in it for you?

Conscience For me? Most often harsh words and slammed doors. But I'm a persevering fellow, and not easily put out of countenance. No, my friend, there's nothing in it for me.

Cohen Then you're just one of those Socialist fellows who go about all day insulting fur manufacturers gratis?

Conscience I cannot quite accept the compliment. But I am what you may call a socializing fellow. Think it over, old chap.

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Well, I'm sorry to go, Cohen, but I have a long list of doors to knock on to-day. However, I'll meet you at the Anshe Zedek Saturday.

Cohen What's that? You don't mean you're a member of my schul?

Conscience Exactly. And if you had been there any time this year, you would have seen me there.

Cohen You're a rascal, Jacques. But it's true. Well, it'll be a great pleasure to meet you again.

Conscience And a great duty.

Cohen I suppose so. By the way, do you happen to know Shatkovitz, of Cohen and Shatkovitz?

Conscience Not yet.

Cohen My partner. Put him down on your list. And when you get to him, you needn't be too polite. He's what you might call a-a camelflage Jew, if ever there was one.

Ben Meir

LOUIS UNTERMEYER, poet and critic, who combines leadership and pioneering in new verse fashions with a keen appreciation of classic traditions, has written for THE MENORAH JOURNAL *a unique poem entitled "Roast Leviathan"—unique both in subject-matter (drawn from Talmudic-Midrashic literature) and in technical form (an elaborate experiment in "contrapuntal verse"). Mr. Untermeyer writes that he considers this "in many ways my best poem. . . . There has been, particularly in poetry, little of that blend of racy humor and Oriental fancy that is as native to us as the more exalted (and more exploited) vein. 'Roast Leviathan' is an effort to capture some of the Eastern humor as well as the wild fantasy inherent in our post-Biblical treasures."*

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The Industrial Possibilities of Palestine

By Sol Grossbard

IN considering the problem of the restoration of Palestine, the engineer, Jew or Gentile, does not allow himself to be swayed by sentiment. There cannot be any sentiment in scientific problems. The engineer, true to his profession, must analyze the conditions with detached thoroughness. The constructive problem of Palestine to the engineer is purely the question of its industrial and commercial possibilities for the immediate future.

The natural resources of the country, as compared with North America or with China and Siberia, are pronouncedly limited. There are no mineral deposits of any value to speak of in Palestine. But this need not limit its industrial development. The old and generally prevalent idea that the prosperity of a country is directly proportionate to its mineral resources must be discounted from the beginning. The recent development of Japan, limited as it is in natural resources, and the backwardness of Russia and China with all their potential mineral wealth, prove that there is no necessary relationship between these factors.

The development and prosperity of Palestine will more truly depend on the following factors:

SOL GROSSBARD, an industrial engineer of varied experience in many lands, was born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1889, and received his technical training in this country at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute and the University of Colorado (B.S., E.E.). He has been engaged in engineering surveys and installations for prominent corporations, public service commissions, etc.; also as consulting engineer on public utility problems. He served as engineer with the U. S. Expeditionary Force in Siberia, and has since made two trips to the Orient on engineering missions.

(1) Geographical Location
  (a) Seaport and harbor facilities
  (b) Distance from the source of supplies of raw materials
  (c) Vicinity of markets of consumption
(2) Cheap Motive Power
  (a) Availability of electric power
  (b) Oil
  (c) Coal deposits
  (d) Shale oil deposits
(3) Constant and Reliable Labor Supply
  (a) Immigrant labor
  (b) Reliable native labor
(4) Transportation
  (a) Inland water routes
  (b) Railroad transportation

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(c) Highway transportation
(d) Ocean transportation
(e) Telephone and telegraph communication
(5) Agricultural development
(6) Climate
(7) Exportation

Analyzing the above factors, it is amazing to find that Palestine, neglected for two thousand years, is an ideal spot for a prosperous industrial community. Geographically, Palestine comprises the southern portion of the Eastern Mediterranean littoral, a region which may be described as covering an area bordered on the east by the Syrian desert, on the west by the sea, with an irregular mountain chain roughly paralleling the coast. The future commercial harbor of Palestine will no doubt be Haifa. With a little engineering skill and foresight, it can be made the chief natural port of the Mediterranean. It has the greatest natural advantages as a port and it is also the best situated to serve the needs of Palestine. Sheltered by Mt. Carmel from the prevailing southwest winds, having an adequate depth of water, insuring a space for docking and with high ground to the south, it is adaptable to the commercial and residential requirements of a large seaport. In these respects it is equal and probably superior to any harbor on the eastern Mediterranean coast.

An Exceptional Textile Opportunity

PALESTINE is geographically located midway between the cotton fields of Egypt and of Persia. With the completion of the Haifa-Damascus-Bagdad railroad, Palestine will be nearer to the textile markets of Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt and Syria and all other central Asiatic textile countries than any textile manufacturing country in the world. In view of the resulting difference in transportation rates, the textile industry of Palestine should have no trouble in competing with the textile industries of England and Japan for the markets of Persia, Egypt and Central Asia. At present, England must bring her raw cotton from America and Egypt, manufacture it in the British Isles, and ship it to Asia. If the future textile industry of Palestine is properly planned and managed, it will have the advantage over England of being in the vicinity of large cotton-producing countries and near the largest textile markets of the world.

Mr. Frank Vanderlip, former president of the National City Bank, stated recently that the low cost of labor which kept England in a position before the war to maintain her textile markets in Asia, is an advantage she is gradually losing, due to the prevailing high wages in England at present and the tendency of English workmen to maintain a high

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standard of living. It is, therefore, likely that the textile industry of Palestine, which will be readily developed through Jewish immigration from Poland and Rumania, will be able, even after insuring these workers a decent standard of living, to produce textiles cheaper and to compete with England in the various Asiatic markets. The differential in transportation rates due to Palestine's geographical location will remain a basic advantage, no matter what the social or economic conditions of England and Palestine may prove to be in the future.

There may be a labor differential between the textile industry of the Palestinian coast and that of Japan in favor of the latter. Still the proximity of the source of supply of raw material and centers of distribution of the finished product is so much in favor of Palestine that there is no question about the ability of its future textile industry to overcome Japanese competition.

The Advantage of Cheap Motive Power

PALESTINE has no coal deposits. There is no available data on the supply of oil. The Standard Oil Company did some research work there in 1913-14 and there are rumors that their engineers gave a favorable opinion with regard to the oil possibilities of Palestine, but nothing definite has been done. Until a detailed geological survey is made by the Zionist Organization, to determine the availability of oil, it cannot be counted as a future source of motive power.

But the hydraulic-electric possibilities of the Jordan are known, and the future industries of Palestine will depend on the Jordan as a source of water power. Engineering reports vary as to the amount of power available. German engineers have estimated the potential hydraulic-electric power of the Jordan at 75,000 KW or about 100,000 HP. English engineers have placed it at about 40,000 KW or about 55,000 HP. Until scientific gauging is made, the exact amount cannot be known. But it is safe to place it within the limits of 50,000 KW, or about 65,000 HP of available power.

This power, even at the present high cost of machinery and equipment, will amount to about $125 per KW unit of first cost installation. It can be transmitted to the industrial plants at the rate of $.02¼ per KW hour. This compares favorably with the cost of power in the large industrial centers of the United States and England. At present prices no industry using coal or oil as the prime mover can produce power and transmit it to the points of application for less than $.03 to $.03½ per kilowatt hour. In industries where hydraulic electric power is used, $.02½ per kilowatt hour is stated as the minimum figure for industrial plants in the United States.

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The three essential factors which determine the location of industrial plants, as engineers will agree, would be as follows:

(1) Availability of cheap power
(2) Constant labor supply
(3) Distance of plant from the source of supply of raw material and the markets for the finished product.

Palestine can have all these three points in its favor. Particularly, the cheapness and availability of hydraulic-electric power should enable it to advance rapidly. The tremendous industrial development around Buffalo due to the availability of hydraulic-electric power from Niagara Falls, the recent industrial growth due to the hydraulic-electric power around Keokuk on the Mississippi, the great part which water power has played in promoting industrial and agricultural development in the West generally, are facts which prove concretely that industries centered around points where cheap, reliable motive power is available, must prosper and develop.

The Big Profits in Shale Oil

THE possibility of the shale oil industry of Palestine has been completely overlooked. Recent information is available which indicates that a large part of the shale has an oil capacity of thirty to forty gallons per ton of shale. According to reliable statistics, a ton of shale of this quality will produce by-products of about thirty pounds of ammonium sulphide and 4,000 cubic feet of gas.

In America the only commercial use made of the gas—apart from its being used regeneratively as prime mover—is in the refining of the kiln of the shale oil plant. In Scotland, where the shale oil industry is already highly developed, the gas is transmitted to industrial plants in the vicinity for power and heating purposes.

In Palestine, because the new industries can be located near the shale deposits, the gas might well be used for commercial purposes. Even omitting the commercial possibilities of the gas, the following figures taken from confidential reports on the shale oil industry in Colorado, show that a ton of shale will produce oil and by-products valued at $12.90 at the plant. The actual cost of producing, including machinery, labor and initial investment, is $2.57 per ton of shale. Various tests show the following results on natural deposits of crude shale oil of 23.8 Be. gravity: Gasoline, nineteen per cent; Gas Oil, twelve per cent; Lubricating Oil, sixty per cent; Asphalt, five per cent; Wax, two per cent; loss, two per cent. The lubricating oil, if produced by the Wells process, requires no other chemical re-treatment to prepare it for market. It is superior to petroleum lubricants in adhesiveness

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and is immune from action by acids. Paraffin wax thus produced is harder and has a much higher melting point than paraffin wax from petroleum. The residue of shale oil is superior to asphalt or coal tar pitch and has a greater range of temperature between its melting point and brittleness. It is also an established fact that this crude oil is superior in quality to any crude oil products from oil wells. After being fractioned, more than fifty per cent volume of the crude oil will produce high grade lubricating oil, and without further refining this large volume of lubricating oil will show a viscosity test of more than 400 at a temperature of 100° fahrenheit. This oil will exceed all other lubricants for internal combustion because of its adhesive qualities, its high fire tests, its freedom from oxidation when in contact with air, and its superior endurance.

The paraffin will also be a high grade product. The paraffin wax is more heat resistant to the extent of about fifty degrees than the best paraffin wax products from petroleum. The asphalt residue makes an ideal rubber filling which can be blended and affiliated in large percentages with vegetable oils in the manufacture of automobile tires and other high grade rubber goods. It is stated by good authority that crude shale oil sold in the open market is likely to command a price of five dollars per barrel, just as soon as its many superior qualities and products are commercially established. It can be produced for approximately two dollars per barrel with a 400-ton per day retort plant. Such a plant including ammonium sulphate and gas absorption equipment could be installed for $350,000 even at the present price of labor and material. With total returns (including by-products) from each ton of over $12.00, the daily profits of such a plant would be about $4,000. Taking 300 working days of production per year, a shale oil unit plant of this size should make not less than $1,200,000 annually.

There are indications that there are enough shale oil deposits in Palestine to supply two 400-ton unit plants for a number of years. These shale deposits are thus an additional source of cheap motive power and incidentally will form the basis of a large chemical dye industry in Palestine.

The present plans are to encourage immigration from Poland and Rumania. Having in mind the adaptability of the Jew to the various industries of this country, there cannot be any doubt that Palestine will have a large supply of desirable labor. The native Arab is another source of labor supply. He can be induced to take an active part in the future industries. Indications are that the Jew as well as the Arab will make a loyal and dependable labor source providing steps are taken in the beginning to protect him against exploitation and establish immediately a decent standard of living.

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Railroad Facilities

FROM all the available reports it seems that there are at present sufficient railroad facilities in Palestine and no large construction scheme will be necessary for the next ten years. The railroads built in the last several years by the English for military purposes, with additional sidings and a few branch roads to adapt the existing lines to commercial use, will be sufficient for the present.

Railroad facilities are as follows:

Kantara-Haifa railroad, 412 kilometres. This is a standard gauge railroad connecting Haifa on the Mediterranean coast of Palestine with the Kantara (Egypt) railroad. There is a double line of tracks from Kantara on the Suez Canal to Jaffa, a distance of 200 kilometres, and a single line from there to Haifa. It is a well built road and the rails are 75 pounds to the yard. If an extension of 180 miles should be built to connect this railroad with Rayak, it will complete the last remaining link between Egypt and Europe and it will bring about through traffic via the Palestine railway system. It will also place Haifa in direct connection with the adjacent territory.

Haifa-Deraa Railway, 161 kilometres. This narrow guage line is a branch of the Hedjaz railway and serves to connect Haifa with Damascus. If it is rebuilt to standard guage no other road would be necessary. The Hedjaz railway forms part of the road from Damascus to Mecca. It was built by the Mohammedans as a pilgrim road to the holy places of Arabia.

Ludd-Jerusalem Railway, 65½ kilometres. This connects Jerusalem with the Kantara railroad. It is converted to standard guage.

Ludd-Jaffa Railway, 20 kilometres. This is a narrow guage road which connects Jaffa with the Kantara railroad by way of Ludd. This should also be converted to standard guage. A proper junction at Ludd promises a through connection to Jerusalem.

Rafa-Beersheba Railway, 60 kilometres. A standard guage road. It may be extended to Wady Surai.

Afule-Nablus-Tulkern Railway, 96 kilometres, narrow guage.

Jerusalem-Nablus Railway, a narrow guage line begun by the British Army. Not yet completed.

Belid-Es-Sheikh-Acre Railroad, 25 kilometres, a narrow guage branch line from the Haifa-Deraa Railway to Acre.

Palestine already possesses a good many highways, some built by the British and the Turkish armies. Additional main roads are required in the south and some branch roads should also be built.

Considerable coastwise traffic may be expected on the Mediterranean, particularly in the collection and distribution of merchandise and the purchase of food from the ports of Haifa and Jaffa. This traffic would

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probably be conveyed much cheaper by sea than by rail, and the necessary facilities for coasting vessels should be provided at the principal coast towns. With good harbor facilities in Haifa and improved facilities in Jaffa a large coastwise traffic should be available. There are no large inland water routes, but the existing railroads and highways, with the addition of a few feeder roads and sidings, are sufficient to take care of the contemplated industrial development of the next ten years.

Telephone and telegraph communication is an essential part of the transportation development to facilitate industrial progress. The beginnings have been laid by the British Expeditionary Force and arrangements will no doubt be made to take them over from the army and develop improvements as future needs may dictate.

The Possible Industries of Palestine

So much has been written on the agricultural possibilities of Palestine that we need not take up the matter in detail. The success that some of the colonies have made in the last ten years, working under political and economic disadvantages, is sufficient proof that Palestine is potentially a great food-growing country. The climatic conditions are about the same as California, and with a good system of irrigation and careful financing it should do a large exporting business to all the markets of the world. The trouble is that having in mind the historical Palestine of three thousand years ago we have overemphasized the agricultural development and have neglected entirely the other industrial possibilities which are just as essential to the prosperity of a modern country.

We have described the essential factors of the country. Now to enumerate the industries which may be expected to prosper there under the conditions outlined:

(1) *Textile.* As pointed out above, due to its locality, availability of cheap power, labor, the proximity of raw cotton and the nearness to the centers of distribution of the finished product, the textile industry should become one of the basic industries of Palestine. Under the management of industrial leaders of vision, combined with engineering skill and financial resources, Haifa should become the Manchester of the Near East just as Osaka (Japan) is rapidly assuming the title of Manchester of the Far East.

(2) *Shale Oil.* A second basic industry will be the shale oil industry, with its various branches of chemical dye industries. Due to the fact that the supply of oil is becoming exhausted (the United States Geological Survey of 1919 shows that there are approximately 25,000 producing oil wells in this country, each of which gives about 4½ barrels per day), engineers are turning more and more to shale oil for the future oil supply.

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If proper use is made of the by-products, the shale oil industry is very profitable, and it can be extensively developed in Palestine.

(3) *Building Industry.* Available reports indicate that there is sufficient raw material to establish a profitable building industry on a modern scale to provide building materials for domestic use. This industry is basic in character, and to a large extent even the agricultural development will depend upon it. From an engineering and economic standpoint, there cannot be much talk about industrial development before building material is domestically provided. No large building enterprises of industrial development can be undertaken when cement is imported and sold at a price of $12 to $13 per barrel, whereas there is in Palestine sufficient raw material to manufacture cement and market it profitably at a price of $5 per barrel. The same is true of the lime, stone, brick and tile industries.

Housing at present is a problem and when contemplating the incoming population, it cannot but remain so until building material can be provided locally. Plans are at present being worked out for the manufacture of all building material such as cement, dressed stone, brick and tile. Each one of these industries is a large proposition in itself which will assure returns on the money invested and will help to lay the cornerstone of other basic industries.

(4) *Agriculture.* The agricultural industry, while it can be extensively developed at present, should first be prepared for by a systematic irrigation system, the work to be done simultaneously with the hydraulic-electric development. The same water, after passing from the reservoirs to the water turbines and producing power for the enumerated industries, can be used for irrigation. With such a system, Palestine in addition to producing food for its own use should become an exporting food country.

In this connection the development of a silk industry may be mentioned. Mulberries are widely grown in the Lenonna district and their introduction into Palestine should be encouraged. It would lead to the establishment of silk-weaving, spinning and embroidering industries which can be developed by the farming population during the period in which they are free from their agricultural work.

Another industry which may be established, though no definite scientific data is as yet available, is the fertilizing industry. Indications show that the raw materials are in existence and their exploitation should be made part of the industrial life of Palestine. There are phosphate beds at Es Salt. There are saline deposits near the Dead Sea. The Dead Sea is probably very rich in potash deposits. The fertilizer industry should therefore be seriously considered. Under good management it should become one of the products which Palestine may export to the neighboring countries.

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Palestine As An Export Market

BEING located at a central gateway to Persia, India, Syria, and Mesopotamia Palestine should build up a large exporting industry not only for the export of the surplus products of the special industries already mentioned, but also as a clearing-house for re-exporting. It should play the same part in the Near East as Japan is playing in the Far East. With good storaging and docking facilities, Haifa should become a large city, doing an import and export business for the various countries in the Near East. (It must be said that there are no scientific data from which the future possibilities can be figured out and estimated.) Storage and docking and banking facilities should be established in Palestine to help in the development of this business. It should be vigorously encouraged the more as an import and export trade naturally brings with it the employment of thousands of people as storage and docking labor.

In the establishment of these various industries, care should be taken to avoid the economic and social mistakes which have been made in the development of America as in other countries. We should realize that the present economic system needs adjustment. The standards of social and economic rights which were established in the last century have served their purpose but at present they are out of date. We cannot proceed to build Palestine on the old lines. It will bring upon us the labor problems and the high cost of living problem which are so acute at present in all other countries. We must build our new industries from the very beginning on lines of modern social justice and economic democracy just as well as on a basis of political democracy. While an ample return should be provided for capital invested and a sufficient guarantee should be given for the safety of the investment, there should be stern repression of speculative schemes and the watering of capitalization. The Zionist Organization of America has appointed experts to work out a program by which invested capital as well as the general public shall be amply taken care of and which will provide for the regulation of prices and commodities as well as wages. The essence of all undertakings should be justice in the true sense of the word to everyone concerned. The Jews from the day of Moses and the prophets down to our own times have always taken an active part in the struggle for social justice. They have preached social justice in every country of the world and surely the world will expect them to practice their own teachings in their homeland. The restoration of Palestine is an experiment not only in the revival of nationality but in the realization of a just social and economic order. The experiment will be watched by the entire world.

S. Grossberg

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Taking Stock of "Reform"

A Personal Impression of the Rabbinical Conference

By Louis A. Mischkind

[Editors' Note.—To provide an opportunity for the publication of views and "reactions" of the younger generation is one of the purposes of The Menorah Journal. The following review of the last Conference of Reform Rabbis (at Rochester, June, 1920) is presented not as a report of its proceedings but as the personal impressions of a young blood of the Rabbinate. It is hardly necessary to add that, as in the case of all other articles published in this Journal, neither the Editors nor the Menorah Association are to be held as advocating or sponsoring the statements and views of the author.]

WITHOUT completely detailing the sessions of the recent Conference of Reform Rabbis, it will be possible, I believe, to present the outstanding features in what amounts practically to a series of impressions. Aside from the evidence that the older men were being gradually overcome by the sheer numbers of the younger, and that the influence of the former was waning, it was clear that never before had there existed so sincere a desire on the part of the American Reform Rabbinate to come to grips with the difficulties, shortcomings and disintegrating influences now evident in Reform Jewry. Whether success accompanied every effort in this direction is beside the mark; at least, the endeavor was genuine. In fact, the criticism might be justified that there was a dash too much of self-searching; but that is an objection to be raised only by a carping critic. Also, the suggestions were not always clean-cut, incisive, or concrete; but they were sufficiently indicative to be most valuable.

Louis A. Mischkind, one of the most promising of the younger members of the Reform Rabbinate, was born in Louisville, Ky., in 1895, and educated at the College of the City of New York and the University of Cincinnati. He was graduated as Rabbi from Hebrew Union College in 1918, and has officiated since then at Wheeling, W. Va.

There were two main aspects with which the sessions were concerned. One was the purely "spiritual" problem. This includes every attempt to understand the weakness and the failure of the Synagogue in ministering to individual *religious* needs. In the papers presented by Rabbis Fineshriber and Goldenson and Professor Sharfman (for the last, who, though a layman, appealed strongly for a revivification of the "spiritual" element, the enthusiasm was unbounded); and in the sermons

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of Rabbis Feuerlicht and Ettelson, as well as in the discussions from the floor, great stress was placed upon this phase of Reform Jewish life. It was clear that the whole Conference was alive to the flatness, the staleness existing in the Jewish group; fully aware of the woeful lack of genuine religious ardor. True, it sometimes appeared as if a mountain was being fashioned out of a mole-hill; sometimes, as if the spirit of Christianity had taken possession of our thought; sometimes too it appeared that this "spirituality" was being exploited in a blind endeavor to hit upon a solution for the general lukewarmness characterizing the Reform Synagogue. Yet there is no question but that the dominant condition in Jewry best expressed by the word "apathy" had finally aroused the deep concern of the leaders.

The conclusions presented amounted to this: (1) That there is a dangerous lack of "spiritual" appeal in the form and content of the Synagogue service; (2) that it is one of the most important of the Rabbi's functions to interpret Jewish experience and thought in such terms as to satisfy the fundamental soul needs of the congregants; (3) that for some reason or other the mass of attendants is altogether unacquainted with or impassive to such appeals from the pulpit. These conditions were declared responsible for the decided drift to Christian Science, and for the desuetude into which the Synagogue threatens to lapse.

Seeking for the Causes of Spiritual Stagnancy

SEVERAL attempts were made to analyze the causes of this situation. It was felt that the only way to remedy matters was to seek closely for the factors that were conducing to the stagnancy of Reform Jewry. It was correctly seen that the problem was not alone of Reform but of Jewry in general, specifically American Jewry. There were clear statements to that effect, particularly in the papers of Rabbis Lazaron and Goldenson and in the discussion of Rabbi Jonah Wise. The analysis that seemed to strike closest to the root of the problem stated that the main reason for the passing of the Jewish "spiritual" consciousness was the lack of Jewish knowledge. Jews were almost complete strangers to the content and meaning of Jewish tradition, literature and learning. It was well nigh impossible in the present state of ignorance among the mass of Jews, notably Reform Jews, to secure intelligent reaction to the content of Judaism. It is lamentable to have to point out that the Conference as a whole did not devote more of its time to the consideration of this state of affairs. The Conference failed to recognize, or recognizing failed to consider, that the main problem of the Jewish Diaspora was not only the perpetuation but also the development of Jewish thought in which alone is contained the seed of Jewish "spirituality" and culture.

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Just how neglectful Reform Jewry is of this was seen from the statement of Rabbi Zielonka that of all the work carried on by the Synagogues of the country the least attention was paid to Jewish topics and to the education of adults along lines of Jewish thought. The data supporting this contention is irrefutable; and shows itself in the wretchedly small number of classes studying the Bible, Jewish literature, and kindred topics.

It should be clear that the more we lose contact with the source and stream of Jewish life and the more we drift unattached to any group experience, traditional or cultural, the more haphazard become our reactions to any faith, to any culture, and the sooner does the individual link up with anything that momentarily satisfies his needs or desires. Without knowledge we lack discrimination; without culture—which is simply the discrimination developed by ages of thought—our sense of valuation is deficient. Just as an investigator without a background of scientific thought will find it impossible to judge correctly the value of his own work, or know whether the ground he is covering has not long since been traversed by others, so is it impossible for an individual to estimate correctly the worth of his own experience, even his own intelligence, without a rich and rooted culture wherein he gains his sense of values. The most deplorable disaster that threatens to overtake Jewish life in this country is exactly this: the Jew is slipping fast from his own cultural moorings without having an adequate substitute to which to attach himself. This is doubtless one of the underlying reasons for the blatancy and frothiness of much of our Jewish group life.

Spiritual Poverty in Material Wealth

ANOTHER conjecture as to the failure of the Reform Jew to satisfy his soul life was made by one who suggested that the cause of our spiritual poverty was to be found in our material wealth. Because the preponderant majority of our membership come from the middle and upper middle classes, a definitely static and sluggish quality pervades their "spiritual" life. The argument though not elaborated would run somewhat along these lines: since the economic status of Reform Jewry is relatively high, and since with negligible exceptions the Reform congregations do not enlist any appreciable number of workers or so-called proletarians, the whole temper of our Synagogal life has taken on the quality of comfortableness and sleekness. The inertia existing in the material world of such a group, the disposition to let well enough alone, to be satisfied with things as they are, to be complacent in the status quo have been transferred to the ideal and "spiritual" phases of life. The result is an easy-going, untroubled, placid "spirituality," which though guiltless of deep backsliding is at the same time as innocent

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of lofty flights; is unsympathetic with ardent minds and hostile to zealous souls. The consequence is a gradual fossilizing of the living idealism of the group.

It was not, however, the congregants alone who were thought directly responsible for the apathy in Jewry. The layman was not the only target of the discussions. As definite and precise were the strictures to which the Rabbis were subjected. It was pointed out with admirable frankness and clearness that the religious leaders were in many instances themselves to blame for the failure of their ministrations. The Rabbi was generally too much engrossed in social service and the industrial fields of life to pay sufficient attention to the purely Jewish needs of his congregants; he sometimes deliberately, often unconsciously, neglected the Jewish material, so rich in content for his purposes, and substituted current and extraneous matter effective for the passing moment only. He made no attempt to establish permanently within his congregation an essential background for Jewish life. Whether we agree with the details of the criticism, whether, indeed, we can subscribe to the conception of Rabbi underlying it; we must concede that in a large measure the Rabbi to-day has not emphasized his function of "teacher" to the extent both necessary and desirable. The suspicion may be justified that his interest in this function has not always been sufficient to lead him to equip himself fully for it.

Effects of the Early Reform Teaching

TO a "non-sectarian" Jew the underlying motif of this entire discussion was a bit bizarre. It seemed as if the unity of Jewish life were being dissected and parts of it labelled real, others docketed spurious. It appeared as if the very spirit of the Jew were being cleaved into artificial halves, one of which was declared illegitimate, the other solely genuine. This was most apparent in the last day's discussion on Zionism. However irrelevant the debate was on both sides, however lacking in good taste, however intellectually unsatisfying, there was unmistakable the mechanical division described. In this instance, to be sure, the Jew was divided racially (nationally) and religiously (spiritually). It was the same rationalistic tendency, however, evident in much of the debate, and underlying many of the views with reference to the "spiritual degeneracy" of Reform Jewry. It sometimes appeared that the virus of the poison so unfortunately (however unconsciously) administered by the early Reformers had actually begun to work on individual Jews; and that the disciples of these masters were suffering the baneful effects of the dose. It might be a matter of congratulation that the first generation of American Reform leaders were so masterful as to be able to convince a

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group that they were Americans of the Mosaic persuasion; but with the results as they have emerged, congratulation must surely be turned to condolence.

It should not be a matter of astonishment that Jews having once been persuaded that their Judaism was identically analogous to the Protestantism or Catholicism of their neighbors, should find no hesitancy in divesting themselves of their "faith"—as little hesitancy as their neighbors had in changing their own labels during the multitudinous divisions that have gone on and are now going on in Christianity. The observer must of course recognize that the unwonted insistence of many Reform leaders upon the purely "religious" aspect of Judaism was due directly to a desire to contrast this phase of Jewish life with the exaggerated emphasis placed by opponents upon the racial or purely blood factor. Yet the thought cannot but occur that these Reformers in their zeal have really proved too much; and that the evidence and arguments they have used are now being employed for their own confutation.

Jewish Ethics and Social Justice

THE second dominant trend marking the discussions of the Conference turned on the practical work and the social relations of the Synagogue. One regular and several special sessions were given to this topic, notably in the form of reports by two committees. The first report was by the Committee on Jewish Ethics which submitted a statement of principles, or, as they phrased it, a "draft of Jewish ethics bearing upon current questions." This committee had also been empowered to submit "recommendations making these principles more effective in the social conflicts now raging." This function, however, was taken care of by the report of the second committee, that on Social Justice.

The report of the first committee, however ambiguous in its implications, was definite in the statement of principles. Because of the determined opposition of most of the younger men and one or two of the older, this committee's report though received was not adopted. It was felt by the opposition that the various applications made of the principles were too compromising. With reason it was said that more than concessions were being made to the dominant class controlling our industries, natural resources, and means of production. It was voiced from the floor that however justified the generalities were, the specific pointings were too palliative of the wrongs perpetrated by the capitalist class to be just or Jewish. In fact there was a definite current, underground more or less, against any philandering on the part of the Conference. There was a clear desire that the Conference come out definitely on one side or the other in the present social and industrial struggle. And though

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the desire was not so strong as to prevent the adoption of the diluted liberalism of the report of the Committee on Social Justice, it was unmistakable. On this question one member of the Conference even recorded his vote in the negative, as a protest against the "halting-between-two-thresholds" attitude of the report.

In addition, it was the consensus of opinion that the Synagogue must relate itself actively and aggressively to the practical questions of the day. It must cease standing aloof, and in order to function in Jewish life on the one hand and to make effective Jewish ideals and conceptions in the life of the community on the other, it must shed its cloistral garment and engage in the life of the world. A fascinating exposition of the means to this end was presented by Rabbi Ettelson in his Conference sermon. The stress was definitely placed upon the necessity for the Reform Synagogue of developing a wider point of view and a more Jewish toleration, so as to make possible and feasible the affiliation with it of other groups in Jewry.

The above is a brief, sketchy presentation, more in the nature of a reaction to the Conference than a report of its sessions. It is submitted, however, with one thought in mind: that these impressions may be of some use in forming an estimate not only of the situation in the Rabbinate to-day but of the situation in American Reform Jewry at large.

Louis A. Mischkind

DR. A. M. DUSHKIN, who is now investigating educational conditions in Palestine, will contribute an article to THE MENORAH JOURNAL *on the present and future needs of Jewish education under the new conditions.*

Dr. I. L. Kandel, educational expert of Teachers College, New York, and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, is preparing an article for THE MENORAH JOURNAL *on the problems of Jewish education in America.*

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For Our Fellow-Students Abroad

The Menorah Appeal for the Jewish University Students of Eastern Europe

THE Intercollegiate Menorah Association has undertaken to raise a fund for the relief of the destitute Jewish students in Eastern Europe. Indicative of the appalling situation in which several thousand students now find themselves are the communications given below: a Memorandum from the Jewish University-Committee of Vienna, and a letter from Miss Hetty Goldman, associated in Paris with her father, Dr. Julius Goldman, European Director of American Jewish Relief.

This Menorah Appeal is being made particularly to students and teachers and graduates, but contributions will also be gladly received from men and women generally who desire to aid the brave fellows over there who, against the most harrowing odds, are battling valiantly for the intellectual life. Judge Julian W. Mack, Justice Irving Lehman of the New York Supreme Court, Professor Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School, and Dr. Julius Goldman are Honorary Chairmen of this Appeal, and Henry Hurwitz is Chairman. Messrs. S. W. Straus & Co. are serving as Treasurer. Checks may be sent to the Intercollegiate Menorah Association (marked "Student Relief"), 167 West 13th Street, New York City.

The Appeal from Vienna

JEWISH UNIVERSITY-COMMITTEE, VIENNA.
(Executive of the Association of Jewish University Students of Austria "Judaea.")

The present unbearable condition of the Jewish students in Vienna compelled the "Jewish University-Committee" to institute some means of help from abroad. By this time you have, no doubt, been made acquainted with the misery of our colleagues. . . .

It is a fact that the present state of affairs has struck the hardest blow to those of intellectual interests in general and to the Jewish students in particular. The former can make their income suffice in the prevailing scarcity only through the most petty economy; the latter have no income, and if they happen to come from the East then they cannot expect even the slightest support from their parents who have been completely ruined by the war and the pogroms.

At present there are more than five thousand Jewish students in Vienna. The majority of them are from the East, but through the collapse of the Austrian State, the political conditions in the newly created states, and the attitude of the university authorities toward the Jewish student, they are compelled to remain in Vienna, where they have begun their studies.

On the basis of questionnaires submitted to 3,586 students in 1919, these students are classified, according to countries and faculties, as follows:

Countries	*Students*
From Poland (Galicia)	2,205
" Roumania (Bukovina)	802
" Russia (Ukrainia)	76
" German-Austria	134
" Jugoslavia	63
" Czecho-Slovakia	46
" Bulgaria	26
" Palestine	3
" Hungary	231

Faculties	*Students*
Medicine	1,593
International Commerce	523
Technology	474
Law	468
Philosophy	331
School of Agriculture	110
Veterinary College	38
Academy of Fine Arts	26
" " Music	23

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About two thousand of these students, mostly from Galicia and Bukovina, now find themselves in an indescribable state of distress; they are actually starving. They cannot look for any help to their families, for these too are destitute. Moreover, it is impossible for them to find any remunerative employment, because of the general poverty and unemployment which now prevails in Vienna. Only 502 students have some sort of a small income, from parents or relatives, or through employment.

Moreover, because these students are Jews and aliens, they have drawn upon them the ill-will of the anti-Semitic elements now prevailing in Vienna, and are neglected even by the general student-aid associations.

These students in the meantime have no other resource than the public. But what is offered does not suffice to meet the least of their needs. Hunger claws daily at their bodies, and as a result of undernourishment, disease is on the increase, especially general debility, and tuberculosis to an alarming extent.

To furnish them with the possibility of help, the "Jewish University-Committee" in Vienna have organized various institutions, the most important of which are as follows:

(1) *A Kitchen for Students,* which supplies for 8 kronen daily a very meager meal noon and evening. The money for this purpose has been put at their disposal by the Vienna branch of the "Joint Distribution Committee." These are the only meals: at noon, soup, vegetables, pudding; evening, vegetables and pudding. They are entirely insufficient to maintain a person's strength, not to speak of giving vigor to a young lad. Because of the present high cost of living in Vienna it is actually impossible to buy anything nourishing at such a price, and there are no other sources.

(2) *A Medical Ambulatorium* provides free treatment and medicines in the all too frequent cases of need. The following cases of chronic disease were treated in 1919: 144 tuberculosis of the lungs; 35 heart's disease; 31 malaria; 17 neurasthenia; 44 cripples. We do not include the innumerable cases of dialysis, anaemia and undernourishment. As a result of hunger, disease among the students is increasing to an alarming extent. Each day claims its victims.

(3) *A Loan Fund* provides the students with ready cash for their tuition fees and for lodging. The tuition fees per semester (25 to 40 hours per week) amount to 375 to 600 K. A room, if one is lucky enough to obtain one, costs 200 K. a month.

(4) *A Clothing Store* helps to lighten the cost of the necessaries of life. Next to the problem of food the problem of clothes is the most urgent. Most of the students still wear their worn-out uniforms and torn shoes, but have practically no linen. The Jewish students, as aliens, must pay from five to twenty times as much for their clothing as the non-Jewish students pay at the national stores.

Only with the greatest effort and sacrifice of those in charge can these institutions, which provide a means of existence for two thousand Jewish students, be maintained. About a million kronen were raised in Switzerland and in France since October, 1919, which were divided between the above-mentioned institutions. This money is quite insufficient, and can furnish help for only a small number of the students, and only in scanty measure.

To relieve the lack of housing accommodations, which on the one hand is a distinct cause for anti-Semitic excesses, and on the other hand makes the life of the Jewish students intolerable, a *Student Home* should be created. Many students at present can rent only a bed to sleep in, which already costs as much as 50 K. a month. Others live with their families, six to eight persons in a room and kitchen, or else sleep in doss-houses and in coffee-houses after they close. A student-home is an absolute necessity. Such an institution would not only relieve the terrible lack of housing accommodation and serve as a substitute for their disrupted family life, but would also create a center of Jewish culture.

As to cultural institutions, mention

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should be made of the "Jewish University Courses," the purpose of which is, through lectures on Jewish themes, to awaken an understanding of the cultural value of Judaism, to deepen the Jewish consciousness, and to co-ordinate professional studies with the study of Judaism.

Words fail to picture for you the pitiable condition of the Jewish students in Vienna, but I am sure you will understand what an effect such physical and spiritual suffering has upon our young students and with what significance it bears upon the Jews as a whole. It is a question of protecting thousands of Jewish students from hunger and disease. It is a question of affording them the possibility of existence in order that they may become useful members of the community.

Therefore, we most earnestly appeal to YOU to support the special aid institutions described above, which need money, clothing, and food. I am sure you will be able to win over influential circles in America for this work. I hope that you will call this memorandum to the attention of all groups of your Association and other organizations, and secure their co-operation, and thus initiate in America a great effort to help our destitute comrades in Vienna. You will be doing a task that will stand to the everlasting credit of the Jewish student-body of America, and that will inure to the benefit of Jewish community everywhere.

Comrades! Think of your starving brothers in Vienna and do your duty! With ardent Jewish greetings,

(*Signed*) CH. GLICK,
Jewish University-Committee, Vienna.

Miss Goldman's Letter

JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN FUNDS FOR JEWISH WAR SUFFERERS
3, Rue D'Anjou, Paris.

. . . Recently I made a trip through Czecho-Slovakia, and at Prague I had an opportunity to see the conditions under which the Jewish students were living and attempting to get a professional education. Nothing I have ever seen has moved me more deeply than the courage and tenacity with which these students were attempting to get an education in the face of starvation, sickness and every form of physical misery.

These students are for the most part refugees and victims of the general wave of anti-Semitism which is raging in Poland and Hungary, and, to a somewhat less degree, perhaps, in all the countries of Central Europe. Not a single Jewish student was admitted this year to the Budapest University, no matter what his qualifications nor how excellent his natural endowment. In addition, many of them have been the victims of physical violence. They have taken refuge at the Universities of Prague and Vienna, where, unfortunately, they have not been welcomed or cared for as they should have been by the local people.

The same is true of Polish Jewish students, and at the Lemberg University nobody is admitted who has not served voluntarily in the Polish Army, and you can imagine how much enthusiasm Jewish boys would have for such service.

Conditions in Prague are simply horrible. I talked with dozens of students who, for lack of lodging, were spending their nights in the old Jewish cemetery, and what they will do next winter when this open-air refuge becomes impossible, I do not know. Almost all the men I spoke to were half-starved, sick and very poorly clothed.

The Joint Distribution Committee is doing what it can for these students, but its funds, of course, are not sufficient to meet more than the most primary demands. In Vienna we run two large *mensae academicae* and help a certain number of students with money for stipends, etc. . . .

The Jewish students in America should do something at once for their unfortunate colleagues at the Universities of Prague, Vienna, Lemberg, and, if Hungary returns to normal conditions and re-admits Jewish students, also at Budapest. I believe there is a great deal of money and a great deal of willingness to give in America which cannot be reached by the Joint Distribution

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Committee. I believe it is time to send out a call and to mobilize the special interests which would respond to special appeals.

Would not the Menorah organization take upon itself this task, and raise all over the country a fund to help Jewish students in Europe? It is a matter of immediate necessity; we cannot wait. The students will have to be helped during the coming winter, if, with their already weakened constitutions, they are not to become the prey of disease to an even greater extent than at present. Of course, I realize that what the students themselves could give would be but a small amount, but they could create the organization to collect the necessary funds among the better situated professional men. Special needs could be met by this fund, according to the amount raised. It could undertake, for instance, the work of providing funds for the purchase of books and the necessary scientific implements, the payment of university fees and stipends, a special fund for giving medical aid to sick students, etc. The larger the fund the more good work it could do. If I tell you that the students can live in Prague for 500 kronen a month, and that $1 purchases 45 kronen, you will see that even small amounts of money can do a great deal of good. I am sure it would be a pleasure and an inspiration to the Jewish students in America to undertake this task, and I know that the moral effect upon the discouraged students in Europe would be of almost as much benefit to them as the actual financial aid.

My father wishes me to say that he will start the fund with a gift of $1,000. Personally I feel sure that I will be able myself to collect some money when I get back to America, which will be some time late in October, and I shall do everything in my power to further the work if the Menorah Association will undertake it. . . .

(*Signed*) HETTY GOLDMAN.

Readers of THE MENORAH JOURNAL *who wish to contribute to this Fund are urged to send their checks as speedily as possible to the Intercollegiate Menorah Association (designated "Student Relief"), 167 West 13th St., New York.*

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THE MENORAH JOURNAL

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VOLUME VI DECEMBER
No. 6 1920

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"The International Jew" . . . . . NATHAN ISAACS
A Review—and a Bit of History

"The Passing of the Shtadlan" . . SOLOMON SOLIS-COHEN
Some Corrections of Fact

Between the Book-Ends

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THE MENORAH MOVEMENT

For the Study and Advancement of Jewish Culture and Ideals

Intercollegiate Menorah Association

(Founded Jan. 2, 1913. First Menorah Society founded at Harvard University Oct. 25, 1906)

"The object of this organization shall be the promotion in colleges and universities of the study of Jewish history, culture, and problems, and the advancement of Jewish ideals."

Consisting of Menorah Societies of students at 73 American and Canadian colleges and universities.

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(Founded Dec. 29, 1918)

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Membership: Open to all college and university officers and instructors and to other persons actively interested in educational work and approved by the Membership Committee.

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THE
MENORAH JOURNAL

VOLUME VI DECEMBER, 1920 NUMBER 6

The Pilgrims and the Hebrew Spirit

By Oscar S. Straus

OUR country is fortunate in that the beginnings of its history are not enveloped in clouds of tradition and superstition, as is true of the older nations of Europe and Asia. Our history is an open and legible book, and on anniversaries like this of the Pilgrim Tercentenary we can turn back to its earliest pages for guidance and inspiration.

Three hundred years ago a little group of English Protestants from among those who had twelve years before gone to Holland to escape persecution, to find liberty and to follow the religious convictions which had been denied them at home, embarked in a little ship for the new world. Like the band of Gideon, they were reduced by elimination to 101 souls, men, women, and children. They were a plain working folk, none of them, except William Brewster, having had the advantages of a university training, and he only in part; but their souls throbbed with determined purpose and noble ideal, to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Besides being intensely religious, they were a brave and determined group of men and women, though ill prepared except in spirit to endure the hardships and privations necessary to establish a home and a civil community in a new world which was verily a savage land. Their pil-

OSCAR S. STRAUS, whose services as statesman and peace advocate are indelibly recorded in the pages of American history, was born in 1850, and was educated at Columbia. He has served as Ambassador to Turkey, member of the Hague Court of Arbitration, and Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor in Roosevelt's Cabinet. He rendered conspicuous service at Paris and later in America on behalf of the League of Nations. He is the author of several volumes dealing with the origin of the republican form of government, and the development of religious liberty, in the United States.

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grimage, in the light of developments, is the most epochal event in the history of democracy and religious liberty. The ship that brought this little group, the *Mayflower*, has acquired a fame beside which the great leviathans of our day sink into insignificance. The fact is, so large a number of our population lay claim to *Mayflower* ancestry, that in order not to offend their pride we should in all politeness permit ourselves to believe that the *Mayflower* was indeed a leviathan.

"The Modern People of the Book"

THEIR pilgrimage was determined by persecution in conflict with a sublime religious idealism. Together with the Puritan groups who began to come eight years later, they had such an intense and literal devotion to the Scriptures that they regarded themselves as the modern People of the Book. They drew their inspiration chiefly from the Hebrew Scriptures. It is a significant fact that the ancient People of the Book were destined to find liberty for the first time to worship God under the guarantee of equal laws, in the Commonwealth whose foundations were laid by "the modern People of the Book." It is eminently fitting, not only as Americans, but as American Jews that we should with an emphasized sense of patriotism unite in this historical celebration. It was only thirty-four years after the arrival of the *Mayflower* that the first group of Jewish immigrants who had settled in Barbadoes and in Brazil, when the latter country was again conquered by Portugal, in order to escape from the agents of the Inquisition, came in their Mayflower, the ship *Santa Catarina*, to Manhattan.

The relationship between the Jewish refugees from Spain and Portugal and the Brownists and other English Separatists who were refugees in Amsterdam, began in Holland in the decade preceding the departure of the Pilgrims from Delft Haven. Leonard Busher in his book written under the influences of these exiles, entitled "Religious Peace or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience," published in 1614, made a plea for the extension of religious liberty to Jews.* Amsterdam was at that time the seat of a flourishing Jewish community, some of whose members, according to Lucien Wolf, came into contact with the philo-Jewish refugees. At the very beginning of the Civil War in England, the Royalist spies in Holland reported that the Jews sympathized with the Republic, and even alleged that they had offered the rebels "considerable sums of money to carry on their designs."†

The great heroes of the Old Testament with the fear of God in their

*Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell, by Lucien Wolf, XVIII. Tracts of Liberty & Conscience—1614-1661 (Hanserd Knowllys Soc.).

†Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. VII MSS. of Sir. F. Graham, 401-405.

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hearts, and the Judges of Israel, freeing the oppressed people from foreign domination, were the favorite characters with the Puritan warriors. In the Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, they saw their own condition portrayed. Oliver Cromwell compared himself to Gideon the Judge. He said, "Great is my sympathy with this poor people, whom God chose and to whom He gave His law."

The Hebrew Commonwealth As a Puritan Pattern

THE politics of Puritanism was developed from its theology, and that politics, which was derived from the Hebrew Commonwealth, was opposed to monarchy. The King of kings was enough for them. Their formula was: "No bishop, no king." The Puritans were undertaking to found and organize a State. The Christian Scriptures contained nothing direct and specific for aiding this object. As Ellis, one of the leading authorities on the Puritan Age, says: "It was the Old Testament that furnished the Puritan pattern." He maintained that if the Colonies of Massachusetts had been Episcopalian there might have been no American Revolution.*

We need not, however, depend upon speculation. The evidence as to the influence of the Hebrew spirit and political structure of the Hebrew Commonwealth upon the origin of American democracy is definite and direct. The Hebrew Commonwealth was explained and held up as an example in the sermons and writings of the Separatists in Amsterdam and among the Fifth Monarchy Men and by the Levellers or ultra Republicans in England. Some of the latter even called themselves Jews and were formally received into the Amsterdam synagogue. As is well known, the New England Puritans, with the Old Testament as a model, established as their first form of government a "Theocracy," in which the Church Brethren usurped the powers of the God of Israel. In this they followed the letter rather than the spirit of their Biblical model, failing to make allowance for differences of opinion in time, conditions and circumstances. Growing out of the intensity of their religious spirit, they became as narrow as the Established Church and even more intolerant of differences of opinion. Their aim during this period was not to establish democracy but theocracy; but the logic of events is so often more potent than policy, that the example they held up as their guide, the Hebrew Commonwealth, developed on lines of a democracy. They based their theocracy and claim for uniformity upon the Ten Commandments, and here is where they struck their first rock. The Moses who caused the pure waters of religious liberty and of democracy to flow from that rock was Roger Williams.

*"The Puritan Age in Massachusetts," by George E. Ellis, pp. 139 and 174.

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The Commandments were divided into "Two Tables." The first table concerns the duties which man owes to God, as those of religion. The second table defines the duties which men owe to one another. Roger Williams took his determined stand that the civil power had no jurisdiction over the matters contained in the first table. Because of his advocacy of this doctrine he was banished. He founded his little commonwealth upon that principle which he characterized as Soul Liberty—the separation of Church and State. Verily, the stone the builders rejected became the cornerstone of our American system—a free Church in a free State.

The Scriptural Argument for Democracy

THE Rhode Island experiment which throughout New England it was predicted and hoped would be a failure, served as a grateful place of refuge from intolerance and persecution in Massachusetts and in other American colonies, and under the guiding direction and spirit of Roger Williams became a success. The success of the Rhode Island experiment served as a concrete proof, contrary to the opinion of the Christian world, that an orderly State could be developed with Church and State separated and with full liberty in religious matters.

The contention that democracy as evidenced by the Hebrew Commonwealth and not monarchy was the God-given government, was carried forward in all of the New England colonies by the leading ministers from 1633 until the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. In the year 1633 each of the Governors and Assistants in the New England colonies appointed ministers to preach sermons immediately following the election. These sermons, known as "Election Sermons," were of a political religious nature. In them the arguments were stressed against the claim of Parliament and King to bind the colonies in all cases. Political and theological arguments were united. It was urged, says John Adams, that if Parliament could tax the colonies, it could, by the same token, establish the Church of England and prohibit all other churches.*

Time does not permit me to refer in detail to the many sermons that were preached by the leading divines during the period I have mentioned, all holding up the Hebrew Commonwealth as a model for American democracy. I will instance only a few. Jonathan Mayhew, no less a statesman than a divine, who first suggested the idea of a Committee of Correspondence between the colonies, in his sermon on the "Repeal of the Stamp Act," developed in fullest detail the Scriptural argument that the Hebrew Commonwealth was the God-given government, that He gave Israel a king in His anger because they had not sense and virtue enough to continue God as their King.

*Works of John Adams, X-87.

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American Statesmen and the "Republic of Israel"

SIMILAR arguments were advanced by Samuel Langdon, D.D., the president of Harvard College, who was afterwards a member of the New Hampshire Convention for the adoption of the Constitution. In his election sermon in May, 1775, he maintained that the Hebrew Commonwealth according to its original constitution was divinely established and was a perfect Republic. A later sermon delivered at Concord in 1788 he entitled: "The Republic of the Israelites an Example to the American States." Sermons upon similar texts were delivered before the representatives of the New England colonies by Dr. Stiles, president of Yale College, Rev. George Duffield, Samuel West, Simeon Howard, and many others. This argument, putting forward the Hebrew Commonwealth in support of a democratic form of government as the God-given, and as opposed to a monarchy, was advanced with great force and effect by Thomas Paine in his "Common Sense," which was so highly praised by Washington. As Dr. Rush phrased it, its effect "has rarely been produced by types and paper in any age or country." The former part of this book is devoted to the subject of "Monarchy and Hereditary Succession." The argument is drawn entirely from the Hebrew Commonwealth and he instances the refusal by Gideon to accept the offer to make him king. He quotes in full Samuel's warning, and concludes with these words: "These portions of the Scriptures are direct and positive; they admit of no equivocal construction. That the Almighty hath here entered his protest against monarchical government is true, or the Scriptures are false."

The Scriptural argument for democracy based upon the Hebrew Commonwealth was advanced in the conventions of many of the States before which the Constitution came for adoption. In New York, reference was made to it by Chancellor Livingston and more fully by John Lansing and John Smith.

As a remarkable evidence of how thoroughly the history of Israel influenced the thoughts of the leading statesmen who framed and adopted the Declaration of Independence, the following circumstance is impressive. On the same day that the Declaration was adopted, a committee was appointed to prepare a device for a seal of the United States. The committee consisted of Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson. The device they proposed was with the reverse representing Moses standing on the shore extending his hand over the sea causing it to overwhelm Pharaoh, and around it the legend: "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."

The New England Puritans took up the age-long conflict between obedience enjoined as a divine right and the freedom claimed as a

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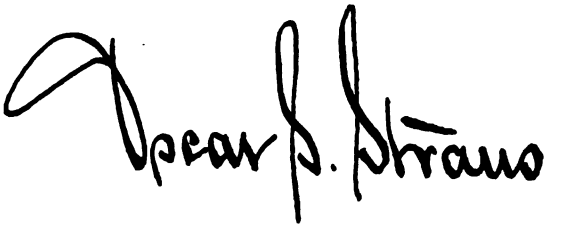
human right. In the beginning they endeavored to misappropriate that freedom in support of religious uniformity. They failed as they deserved to fail. The different sects dominant in the several colonies, and the differences among the Puritans themselves, militated against uniformity and therefore against the establishment of religion in any form. This fortunate divergence in matters of religion made possible in the first instance the union of the colonies and thereafter the United States of America.

The Triumph of Religious Freedom

THE statesmen who framed our government were well versed in the history of nations and fully recognized that the union of Church and State had contributed more than all other causes to redden the Christian centuries with blood. America was the first among the nations of the world not to *accord toleration* but to *guarantee liberty* in matters of religion, without discrimination or restriction. The influence of the American system throughout the world cannot be measured. Charles Sumner, in his "Prophetic Voices Concerning America," says: "The national example will be more puissant than the Army and Navy for the conquest of the world."

On anniversaries like this, how wholesome it is to cast our eyes backward so that we may look forward with more clearness and with renewed confidence in the principles of our democracy, and with that confidence be ever watchful that "the Republic shall receive no harm." Whatever political theories and panaceas the oppression in other lands has given rise to, they have no place in our system, a system which has stood the test of time as best adapted to conserve and advance the principles of democracy and the rights of man under organized government, in accord with his needs and justified demands in our progressive age.



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A Community Theory of American Life

By I. B. Berkson

[Editors' Note: In his forthcoming book on "Theories of Americanization" (to be published by Teachers College, Columbia University), Mr. Berkson seeks to define a position for ethnic minorities in American democracy. Following a condemnation of various programs for this adjustment of minority groups, such as "Americanization," the "Melting Pot," and the "Federation of Nationalities," he elaborates, in a suggestive chapter from which the ensuing essay is a selection, a "community" theory as illustrated by American Jewish life.]

I. B. BERKSON is one of a notable group of young men trained in the service of Jewish education under the leadership of Dr. S. Benderly of the Bureau of Jewish Education, New York. He was born in 1891 in Brooklyn, and received his A.B. at C. C. N. Y., and his M.A. and Ph.D. at Columbia. He was one of the founders of the C. C. N. Y. Menorah and its second President. He has served as principal and supervisor in Girls' Schools of the Bureau of Education, executive director of the Central Jewish Institute, and supervisor of schools and extension activities of the Bureau of Education.

THE community theory here proposed as a constructive suggestion is really the formulation of a process already shaping itself among some of our immigrant groups. To the writer the suggestion has come from the experience of the Jewish group; and although elements of this plan are discernible among other immigrant nationalities, the Jews have undoubtedly gone furthest in its development. In fact, it may be regarded as the response of the Jewish group to the problem of adjustment. While many among the Jews would differ with this proposal or with some of its elements, the tendency of Jewish institutional development to-day indicates that the community theory, as presented below, is the acceptable mode of adjustment for the Jewish group as an ethnic entity. Drawn from Jewish life, it will undoubtedly apply most closely to Jewish life; nevertheless it is hoped that the Jewish experience may form the basis of a theory of adjustment applicable to all groups which desire to maintain their identity in the midst of American democratic life.

The community theory insists on the value of the ethnic group as a permanent asset in American life. It differs from the "Americanization" and "melting pot" theories in that it refuses to set up as an ideal such a fusion as will lead to the wiping out of all ethnic distinctions. Furthermore, it regards a rich social life as necessary for the development of the culture of the foreign group. In the "federation of nationalities" theory, which is pivoted on the identity of race, the argument is primarily that "we cannot change our grandfathers." The community theory, on the other

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hand, makes the history of the group, its esthetic, cultural, and religious inheritance, its national self-consciousness, the basic factor. This change of emphasis from race to culture brings with it a whole series of implications, arising from the fact that culture is not inherited but must be acquired through some educational process. The difference is crucial. A community of culture possible of demonstration becomes the ground for perpetuating the group, rather than an identity of race, questionable in fact and dubious in significance.

"Neither 'Race' nor 'Religion'—But 'Torah'"

THE distinction between race and acquired characteristics shows itself in a greatly overemphasized form in the logomachy which has for many years been carried on between the extremists of the Reform Movement and the Modernist Radical-Nationalists. The Reform position maintains that "the Jews are a faith not a race." The followers of Reform adopted western customs and modes of life, and made of Jewishness a formal creed to which one might maintain verbal adherence without changing in any important respect the form of life or thought. Orthodoxy, on the other hand, instead of becoming crystallized into abstract ideas, has been codified into religious ceremonies whose meaning and relation to life are little understood. Thus the orthodox Jew can become assimilated to western modes of life quite as much as the Reform Jew, while he saves his soul by the mechanical performance of the Jewish ritual. The Modernist Radical Nationalists, impatient with codified formulations of the spirit and aspirations of a people, fall back on the term "race." The conception of identity in race leaves room for progress and new embodiments, but tends to minimize the importance of history and what has already been acquired.

Jewish tradition, and with it the Jewish masses, speaks in terms of neither "race" nor "religion." Both terms are imported from the western world and are foreign to the Jewish spirit as descriptions of Jewishness. The central idea in Jewish life is *Torah*. In legend and in literature, it is for the sake of the Torah that Israel was called into being; it is for the sake of the Torah that Israel has been saved. Torah is a word of many connotations, ranging from the usual designation of the Pentateuch to the whole spiritual life. It was the Torah that was revealed from Sinai; it was for the sake of the Torah that Israel entered the Promised Land; it was because Israel sinned against the Torah that he was exiled; it was for teaching the Torah that Akibah was flayed alive by the Romans; it was the Torah that was burned during the persecution in the dark ages; it was for the Torah that the youth of the Russian Jewish ghetto gave up all worldly interests in a single-hearted devotion to learning. It

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is the Torah ultimately that is to go forth from Zion, and bring about Peace and the Messianic Age for the nations of the earth. Torah is the basis and the goal of Jewish life. Interpret it as narrowly or as broadly as you please, the central idea is Torah. It is Jewishness, the spiritual life, and Godliness—"the Holy One, Blessed be He, the Torah and Israel are One."

The Cementing Force in Jewish Life

IN THE writings of the cultural Zionists, devoted to the renascence of Hebraic life, this traditional emphasis upon Torah has been made the central theme. The idea of Torah has been broadened to include cultural and esthetic values as well as those which popular usage identifies as "religious." The fundamental notion, however, that the aspiration of Jewish life is spiritual remains the underlying conception in this philosophy. The essential reason for the perpetuation of the Jewish group lies in the value of Torah, in the desire to live a life in accordance with it and to develop it in terms of modern knowledge and conditions. The term "history" is sometimes used in the profound sense of "philosophy teaching by example," as the interpretation of events through the experience of the human race with reference to human aspirations. Torah, we may say, is history in this broad sense, as it manifests itself in the life experiences of the Jewish people—culture as it expresses itself in the rich inheritance of the Jewish people—philosophy as it becomes embodied in the social and spiritual life of the Jewish people. What brings Jews together is the significance and power of Torah, that is, Jewish history in its richest sense.

This conception, which identifies the Jewish people with its cultural and spiritual aspirations, comes very close to the view that nationality is essentially a psychological force, the view held by many of the protagonists of "national" autonomy for the smaller nations of Europe. When the sub-representative at the Hungarian Diet of 1848 was asked "What is a Nation?" he replied, "A race which possesses its own language, customs, culture, and enough self-consciousness to preserve them." This definition of nationality in cultural terms gives the clue to the solution of our problem of harmonizing two nationalities dwelling side by side.

Preserving the Group Through Cultural Means

ACCORDINGLY the community theory of adjustment makes culture the *raison d'être* of the preservation of the life of the group. The school* becomes the central agency around which the ethnic group builds

*The word *school* is used throughout to signify an educational agency much broader than the classroom.

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its life. The Jews are conceived of not as living in an isolated locality but scattered throughout the country. Together with other nationalities they engage in commerce, in political and social life; they take advantage of opportunities for educational and cultural development offered by the State; they fulfill whatever responsibilities citizenship implies—as understood by those who have no other loyalty than to the American ethnos; and they contribute in whatever way they can to the development of America in all its phases, economic, political, and cultural. Over and above this participation in the common life of the country, wherever Jews live to make communal life possible, the Jews are conceived of as having their own communal machinery organized specifically for conducting schools to preserve what is most essential in the life of the group—namely, the Torah. Consistent with this conception the Talmud Torah becomes the central agency of the community, the institution around which it builds the social life, and by means of which it transmits the significant culture of the group. Working hand in hand with the public schools the Talmud Torah provides that education which the ethnic community alone is capable of transmitting. It selects from the inheritance of the group those elements which are of abiding worth. The loyalty which the school demands is not to the past for the sake of the past, or to characteristic customs and ceremonies when these are trivial, but to what is significant and beautiful in the history of the ethnos. The philological meaning of Torah, "instruction," enforces the idea and gives the key to the method as well as the aim of the preservation of Jewish life. Torah, Jewishness, is not attained through revelation or maintained through racial persistence—it is essentially study and must be acquired through the educational process.

The function of these complementary schools (as is also the function of the communal organization of which the schools are the agency) is to transmit the culture of the ethnic group and thus to enrich the life of the individual Jew and through him of the total group. If these schools have something to contribute to the citizen that will induce him to remain in loyal adherence to his community, his allegiance and the perpetuation of the community are justified. The group cannot demand the loyalty of those to whom the cultural life of the ethnos offers no inspiration, whether these have not the emotional and esthetic faculties of appreciation or whether they regard the ethnic tradition as being too separatist (even when they happen to be born in the group). Those foreign groups which have no cultural heritage cannot remain segregated on account of some assumed racial identity. Our theory requires neither proof nor assumption that a group has an identity of race which is significant or a culture which is particularly excellent. It endeavors to provide conditions which will permit these factors to play (to determine whether they really do

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exist and are important) without at the same time minimizing the duties and possibilities which rise out of living in America. By making the educational agency central and the fundamental means of perpetuating the group, we have chosen the instrument which is directly relevant to what we wish to preserve, namely, the cultural life of the group.

The Inadequacy of the Synagogue and of Philanthropy

ON THE other hand, culture must have some support in social life and adequate expression in communal institutions. The religious idea with the synagogue (conceived as a place of worship primarily) as the central communal agency offers too narrow a concept to include the full range of Jewish spiritual life. The culture of the Jewish people, including as it does a language, a literature and a profoundly spiritual social outlook, cannot be confined within the walls of the synagogue, where the erstwhile living thought is embalmed in litany, aspiration petrified into prayer, and social life fossilized in ceremonies. Not the particular form, but the vital longing for spiritual life is primary in Jewish life, and this finds embodiment in every age in that phase which for the time is most significant for social life.

Philanthropy can even less be considered as an adequate binding force between Jews, even though it will long continue to be an outstanding element in Jewish communal life. Charity is a public not a private function. When a man is ill or stricken with poverty, it matters little whether he is a Jew or a Bohemian; the efficiency of the whole community is lowered and the public health endangered. So, too, the problem of recreation facilities, social centers, etc., is a public, not a private function. Until the State realizes to the full extent the importance of providing for the abnormal and learns to understand the relation of these ills and their cure to the social psychology of various peoples, there is undoubtedly room for private philanthropy along these lines. But in the ultimate sense these are not permanently or essentially Jewish tasks.

In so far as the ethnic group is organized for political purposes and through political means, its activity is a menace. In so far as it is organized as a philanthropic agency, it is performing a valuable function, not essentially its own, but rather that of the State. But in so far as it strives to perpetuate the spiritual and cultural heritage of a community it is performing a task relevant to the sanction of its existence—the possibility of enriching the life of the nation by its own cultural inheritance.

The Danger of Disintegration

THE community theory, then, would seem to make full provision for the requirements of American life, while aiming to contribute to

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America the finer elements in the ethnic tradition. On the other hand, the question may be raised whether such a method of adjustment will be adequate for preserving the foreign group from extinction. Constantly subject to the play of forces from without, is there any hope that the group will be able to maintain its identity and to develop its culture in new and creative ways? The perpetuation of the ethnos in a democratic land must rest on the clear consciousness of the worth of the ethnic heritage. Are the many, usually unreasoning, fashioning their lives through force of instinct, personal habit and social pressure, capable of being held and directed by a spiritual heritage, especially when this heritage is not supported by economic, political, and social interests?

The danger of disintegration is undoubtedly real, especially if there is more than a formal religious adherence in mind. To some thinkers the fate of the Jews in democratic countries, wherever they form a minority of the population (and they do so practically everywhere), is inevitable extinction. The present analysis, suggesting a way, consistent with democratic notions, of maintaining the identity of a cultural nationality even when it is a minority, is presented not as the necessary outcome of a *laissez-faire* policy, but as a possibility of accomplishment through conscious and intelligent endeavor.

The Factor of Intermarriage

IN ESTIMATING the possibility of maintaining this ethnic identity, two factors of importance must be borne in mind: the rate of intermarriage, and the existence of a "home" country where the culture of the ethnic group is predominant. The integrity of the family will determine the physical stability of the group; the home country will serve as a reservoir from which to draw forces of renewal. The validity of the community theory will depend in great measure upon its implications in regard to these factors.

From the point of view of the *raison d'être* of the ethnic community, the school becomes the central institution because it reproduces that which is essential to the group as a community—its cultural life. From the point of view of physical perpetuation, which is the condition of any other kind of life, the family is basic. Intermarriage, with rare exceptions, leads to a total obliteration of the culture of the ethnic minority. Unless the family preserves the ethnic affiliation, the child is extremely unlikely to come under the group influences of school and synagogue. The "community" theory, therefore, presupposes marriage within the group only, as the general practice. The marriage within the group would be the result of free choice to preserve the cultural inheritance, not the impulse of racial clannishness or the dictates of a superstitious tribalism. The

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community would prevent intermarriage not by religious ban or social ostracism, but by providing the educational influences which would leave the individual free to choose whether he wished to remain within the group or no.

The Need of a Spiritual Homeland

THE community theory in itself is not offered as a solution of "the Jewish problem"—the problem of freedom for the Jewish people to live and to create in harmony with the spirit of its history and its genius. The plan presented undertakes only to preserve Jewish life for the Jew living in America and through him for America. In the task of solving the Jewish problem the writer is in accord with the Zionists who maintain that an autonomous Jewish community with a territorial basis in Palestine is necessary for the free development of the Jewish cultural and spiritual life. Indeed, the Zionist idea becomes even more urgent in view of the type of adjustment, admittedly precarious for the ethnic group, demanded by democratic conditions. Even the possibility of maintaining a vital ethnic culture in the diaspora is dependent upon the existence of a cultural center to serve as a source of spiritual replenishment and to prevent the ethnic spirit from becoming the petrified relic of an ancient grandeur.

An understanding of the character of the Zionist movement should prevent us from believing that there lurks here the monster of a dual political allegiance. The aspiration for the return to Palestine is essentially spiritual, resting upon the longing for the Shechinah's return to Zion which animates the Jewish liturgy. There enters into the Zionist, no doubt, a complex of unfulfilled desires, the counterpart of two thousand years of political, economic, and social repression, and the modern leaders who created the machinery of Zionism often looked upon their movement as a means of obtaining equal rights for Jews. But the thought of cultural freedom is central and no trace of imperialistic ambition ever appears. The political idea enters only in so far as it is regarded as prerequisite to cultural self-determination. Especially in the formulation of Achad Ha'Am, now universally accepted among Zionists, the cultural idea is predominant. He has pointed out that while Palestine would undoubtedly serve as a refuge in times of stress and might become a source of influence for the general amelioration of conditions, the problem of political and civil rights must find its solution even if slowly with the development of western civilization. Palestine is not the solution of the problems of the Jews as individuals. But it can become a haven for the Jewish soul, a place where Judaism as a national culture may be perpetuated and attain a full and unhampered development. What is being

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threatened is Jewish civilization, which needs its own social background and atmosphere for free growth; above all, it is a spiritual slavery from which the Jew must be emancipated. This thought has undoubtedly become the central idea in the modern Zionist philosophy.

In thinking, then, of a Jewish nation in Palestine and of the relation to it of the American Jewish community, it must be borne in mind that to the Zionist the words "nation" and "national" have a predominantly cultural (*i. e.*, psychological) connotation, more familiar perhaps to English readers when the term "nationality" is used. The Zionists want a place where those Jews who so desire may follow their own customs, speak their own language, attend their own schools and live in accordance with their traditions and ideals. In this conception of nationality they follow that school of nationalists, disciples of Mazzini, to whom group individuality commends itself not by its power to dominate but by its ability to serve.

A Dual Allegiance That Involves No Real Conflict

THE allegiance that the Jew in America may offer to Palestine in accordance with the community theory is a spiritual allegiance to a cultural center. In his economic life he must by force of circumstances be subject to the conditions of the country in which he lives. In his political life he must by force of circumstances as well as by virtue of the duty that his oath of citizenship implies, give a complete allegiance to America. His spiritual allegiance, if we speak sincerely, cannot be forced either to Palestine or to America. It will go to both, if the life of both are inspiring, providing that both are open to him. Living in America and attending the public schools insures contact with American life; the life in the family and attendance in the Jewish school provide an opportunity to learn the significance of his people's history.

The underlying conception involves a cultural allegiance to Palestine in harmony with a political and cultural allegiance to America. In case of a political conflict, allegiance is obviously due to the land of one's citizenship. Cultural loyalties, however, since they partake of the nature of spiritual goods, need not conflict with each other. It is explicitly understood that a cultural, not a political allegiance to Palestine is involved in our conception, and that this cultural allegiance is compatible with an allegiance to the culture of America.

Such an organization of a people as is here contemplated must itself become a force anxious to maintain the integrity of international relationships. It is one of those factors the multiplication of which make surer the possibility of a League of Nations bound not only by verbal and legal agreements but by a common good will and community of inter-

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ests. It is one of those bonds which must make keener the realization that all modern wars are civil wars.

The Varying Degrees of Cultural Loyalty

IT BECOMES apparent, if we bear closely in mind the cultural nature of the allegiance proposed by the community theory of adjustment, that individuals will vary greatly in the degree and kind of their loyalty. Even when we are thinking of primarily political loyalties, there is a great range of variation in the manner and readiness with which the citizen is prepared to perform his legal duties. But, granted that he performs them, we must in a practical sense count him among those who serve the country. When a cultural loyalty is involved the range of variation is surely wider, for there is no legally established minimum for the spiritual allegiance.

The following estimate of the maximum expectation for retention of ethnic loyalty among the Jews may help to make more concrete the idea of variability in type of allegiance and what is contemplated in the community theory of adjustment. For the purposes of our discussion the Jews may be regarded as divided into six classes, as follows:

Class A. Cultural Allegiance. In this group would be included those upon whose personality the culture, ideals, and aspirations of the ethnic group have a shaping influence. The maximum attainment would be such a knowledge of the language, literature, and social life of the ethnic group as would be expected from an educated person in the homeland of the ethnos (or where the ethnic culture predominates). The minimum would be a sufficient knowledge of the language and life of the ethnic group to make possible an appreciation of the literary culture of the group. Together with this knowledge and appreciation would generally go a desire to maintain and to perpetuate the type of cultural life represented by the ethnic group.

Class B. Synagogue and Ceremonial Allegiance. In this group would fall those whose main center of gravity lies not in the cultural life per se but who maintain contact with the spiritual productions of the Jewish people through its religious institutions. Undoubtedly, when the shell of religiosity is broken and the inner meaning realized, these institutions represent the most significant products of the Jewish past. The adherence in mind here is to an orthodox or conservative synagogue (where the service is mainly in Hebrew and approximates the traditional) and to the Jewish ceremonial which is generally called "orthodox."

Classes C and D. Formal, Non-Functioning "Religious" Adherence. In these classes would fall those who regard their Jewish allegiance as "religious" in the conventional sense—including the great majority who

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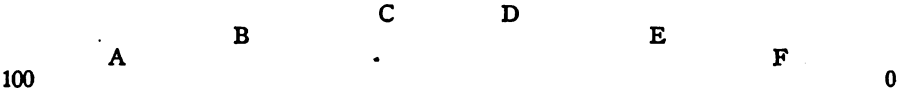
follow out of force of convention and social momentum. Sometimes an element of ancestor worship and superstition prevents them from abandoning the "faith."

Class E. Social and Philanthropic Association. In this group would be included those to whom the cultural allegiance is meaningless and even the formal religious adherence secondary, but who maintain distinctly Jewish associations through the social set with which they usually mingle, or through their interest in Jewish philanthropy and Jewish affairs. All the preceding groups would tend to marry only within the Jewish group. The individuals in this group may be considered as willing to intermarry, in theory at least.

Class F. Severance of the Ethnic Relation and Intermarriage. In this group would be included those who have practically severed all specific connection with Jewish life and whose origin is the only distinguishing mark. Accident rather than desire would decide whether these would intermarry.

The above classification is offered neither as an exact nor as a complete description of Jewish types, but merely as a means of holding in mind the broadest differentiations. The groups are not sharply divided nor mutually exclusive. With these precautions in mind we may say that under normal conditions, the maximum expectation would be a distribution something as follows, graphically:



And in percentages:

A	—Cultural Allegiance	10%
B	—Synagogue and Ceremonial Allegiance	15%
C & D	—Formal "Religious" Adherence	50%
E	—Social and Philanthropic Association	15%
F	—Intermarried	10%

Summarizing, twenty-five per cent would in some manner be influenced in a positive way by the ethnic culture, twenty-five per cent would be on the road to complete fusion, and fifty per cent would in reality not be affected in a significant way by the ethnic culture, although retaining allegiance as a formality.

The Only Adjustment Possible in a Democracy

IT IS evident, therefore, that the forces of the environment are considered by the writer as on the whole disintegrating to a significant Jewish loyalty. The highest to be hoped for from such a scheme as is presented in the community theory of adjustment is to retain the significant

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cultural allegiance of a small proportion of those born within the group. Even such a success as is implied here is doubtful, and will be attained at all only through the expenditure of directed thought and conscious action.

To those who are deeply concerned for the perpetuation of group cultures and identities, such an analysis may seem disappointing. Nevertheless, the type of adjustment sketched in the community theory seems to be the only one compatible with the notions of democracy. To prevent the free flow of currents of life from the general environment in such a way that some particular tradition may be artificially protected, would not harmonize with the basic idea of freedom for the development of individuality, which is the main plea.

In view of the fact that the type of adjustment demanded in the democratic countries in which the Jews live provides only for a limited and doubtful perpetuation, the necessity for a cultural center in Palestine becomes all the more urgent. For those to whom Jewish life in the diaspora is not intensive enough, the Palestinian center will need to serve as a haven of refuge. It is even to be doubted whether the Jewish communities throughout the world will be able to retain their integrity without inspiration and enforcement from the home land. The Zionist idea is an important factor in this whole scheme of adjustment. By insuring the Jewish future in Palestine it permits the Jews in the diaspora to adjust themselves in harmony with the principles and conditions of the land of their people without becoming guilty of the destruction of their people. On the other hand, it serves to strengthen their loyalty by furnishing hope and possibilities of worth-while achievement. This conception of the organization of Jewish life leaves the individual the greatest freedom in choosing whether he should continue in the life to which he was born and also in what manner and to what degree.

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Poetry and Religion

The Third Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture

By Israel Abrahams

(*Concluded*)

IN the first portion of this Lecture, published in the October issue, the author observes that Poetry and Religion "started off together" in a common rhythmic expression of beauty and truth—then gradually diverged. Religion endeavored to employ poetry for didactic purposes. Pious liturgists "reclaimed" poetry to the service of religion. The Hebrew piyyutim had undeniable lyric power. Mysticism, too, sought lyric expression. The Psalms, however, exemplify the truest lyrical moods—the moods of acquiescence, of joy, of gratitude and adoration.

THE Talmud does not contain many formal poems —though I am convinced that in the Rabbinic literature lie embedded more lyrics than have yet been dug out. But of the few already detected one is very striking. It is the Chant of the milchkine who, as they bear, driverless, the Ark from the plains of Philistia to the hill-slopes of Judea, thus serenade by daytime the Ark of *shittim* or acacia wood:

> Sing O acacia, O sing and exult:
> Onward, ride onward, in thy peerless beauty.
> Encircled in broideries, enwoven of gold,
> All glorious art thou in recess of thy palace.
> Adorably decked in jewels' own jewel,
> Held in embrace by the Cherubim twain.

It is not at all remarkable that we should meet in the Talmud and Midrash this quaint and delightful snatch of a lyric in praise of the Law in its Ark. For this is the true lyric motive—joy in praise of beauty experienced and perceived. The Talmudic lyric word *kales* is not, as used to be supposed, derived from the Greek *kalos* (beautiful); it comes from an original Semitic root, meaning to stamp in *applause*. So the Biblical term *shîr* is the oldest Hebrew for lyric, and the *shîr* was a joyous burst of gratitude and adoration—as seen in Deborah's Ode and Miriam's Song of the Sea. How very ancient the Hebrew lyric is we recognize without further argument from the fact that the great mass of critics are agreed in pronouncing Deborah's Ode contemporary with the incidents it celebrates. This Ode, then—the oldest long Hebrew song extant—dates from a thousand years B.C., and reveals in its skilful and highly ornate art the long poetical development that lies behind it. Nor is there any question as to its feminine authorship, though one might perhaps find a male touch in the rhythmic imitation of the beat of the cavalry hoofs in one of the couplets. "There can be no doubt," writes Sir G. Adam Smith, "to whom we should assign the verses on Jael and on the mother of Sisera. If Deborah did not make them, some other woman did."

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That the oldest long Hebrew lyric was the work of a woman is a piece of evidence for Samuel Butler, who held that women were among the first poets and that Homer's *Odyssey* was written by a lady. The same seems to me true of the so-called Song of Moses (Exod. xv), really the Song of Miriam. The most ancient part of this long *shîr* is the opening chant:

The Lord I sing,
High hath He triumphed;
The horse and his rider
He hurled in the sea.

Then follows the song which, as it proceeds, includes phrases implying a post Mosaic date, for they refer to the settlement in Palestine and the erection of the Sanctuary. At its close we are introduced in prose to Miriam. She took a *toph* (timbrel) in hand, and all the women went out after her with drum and dance. And she chanted (antiphonally, it seems) the same lines as those just cited. She is not described as repeating the male pæan; and it is not an unreasonable suggestion that she was author as well as executant, and that the men expanded her song into verses 1-10, just as a subsequent male author still further expanded it to its present length. In passing, it is well to remind ourselves, as explaining much of the infusion of the war spirit into religious poetry, that, just as Religion is more perfectly enshrined in woman than in man, so the original Poetry, which was a ritual response to man's victory, would most naturally come from women, who were at one and the same time praising God, the Man of War, and their own men of war. It was the women who, with timbrels and cymbals, came out to greet the returning victors over Philistia, from all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, crying antiphonally in their glee:

Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands.

VI

Thanksgiving—the Chief Inspiration of Hebrew Song

OTHER motives besides triumphant joy produced Hebrew lyrics—the elegy, the miserere, the soul's cry out of the depths. Nor did the motive remain only or chiefly joy in victory—it became primarily joy. Athanasius was not wrong when he called the Psalter a "measure of the motions of the soul." But Pope, less subtle, more obvious, was nearer the ultimate truth when he said that the Psalms gladden the heart with music. The later Jewish theology denied the possibility of inspiration—

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the resting on man of the Shechinah or Divine Presence—except in moments of joy felt in relation to duty doing or done. More generally, passing from the primitive war *motif*, the Bible strikes the key-note of Hebrew lyric—the key-note also of the kinship of Poetry and Religion —in the forty-second Psalm:

> The Lord will command His loving-kindness in the day-time,
> And in the night His song shall be with me.

God's love and man's experience of it are correlatives; the experience it is that produces the poetry. "O taste and see how good is the Lord . . . His praise shall be continually in my mouth" (Ps. xxxiv, 8, 1). This reciprocity is not confined to the Psalter, but is found in the Pentateuch, in Exodus (xv, 2): "The Lord is my strength and song"; as in Deuteronomy (x, 21): "He is thy praise for He is thy God." And, said the Rabbis, this lyric of praise is eternal. "In the Messianic age," to repeat what I have written elsewhere, "though all sacrifices will cease, the thank-offering will never cease (Leviticus Rabba, ch. ix). There will be no sin and no expiatory sin-offering; there will be no sorrow and no supplicatory petitions. But the thank-offering will last on in eternity, thanksgiving will never become obsolete in the realms of spiritual bliss. The voice of praise will swell into fuller chorus." The service of Poetry to Religion then reaches its zenith, when out of the chant of primitive tribal ritual there finally emerges the Great Lyric of the Universal Soul.

In this diagnosis of Hebrew lyric reliance is not placed on conjecture. There is historical confirmation of it. After his triumph at Emmaus, about the year 166 B. C., Judas and his heroic band "returned home, and sang a song of thanksgiving unto heaven, because He is God, because His mercy endureth for ever" (1 Macc. iv, 24). Here the very *Hodu* refrain, familiar in so many Psalms, in use not only after but before the exile (Jer. xxxiii, 11), becomes in the narrator's story the *motive* for the Psalm (cf. 1. Chron. xvi, 41). To sing and to praise work into synonyms. When Simon, some quarter of a century later, entered Gazara, it was "with singing and giving praise" (1 Macc. xiii, 47).

Spontaneous—But Not Creative

THE Psalms, then, are responsive, not creative. Responsiveness is not, however, to be confused with bondage, nor creativeness to be identified with freedom. On the contrary, it is of the essence of lyric that it is spontaneous, free. The Delphic poetical oracles were not purely lyrical, because they were not free. The Hebrew prophet was creative, yet he

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invariably tells us that his words were put into his mouth. This is his way of describing his creative act: the Creator uses him as the medium of a message, speaks in and through him. Only once in the whole one hundred and fifty chapters does a Psalmist seem to decribe his verses as prompted in this fashion. But when he says (Ps. xl, 4), "He hath put a new song into my mouth," he clearly means (as the context shows) that God has given him a new occasion for praise. The ordinary prophetic praise is, "The voice of the Lord hath spoken" ; his gift of speech is explained in that "The Lord hath touched my mouth." God Himself is introduced as declaring to Isaiah: "I put my words in thy mouth" (Isa. li, 16). The only Biblical lyrist of whom a similar phrase is used is Balaam: "And the Lord put a word in Balaam's mouth," whereupon he took up his parable and chanted his oracles. Precisely so, for Balaam was more prophet than poet; he was an unwilling singer, who only blessed under compulsion.

The Psalmists would have scorned the suggestion that they sang perforce or at the prompter's bid. Their songs were their own, they came to utterance so naturally that they have retained their fragrance and vitality across the centuries. The pressure of his own heart drives the words to his lips.

> My soul shall be satisfied as with marrow and fatness,
> And my mouth shall praise thee with joyful lips.
> (Ps. lxiii, 5.)

The Psalmist, indeed, is not creative as the Hebrew Prophet was, or as the Greek dramatists were; the Hebrew Prophet announced the perfect transcendent God; the Greek Dramatists, as it has been well said, are occupied in thinking out their Deities. Both Prophet and Dramatist are constructing a theory of life. Not so the Psalmist. His purpose is to provide the rhythmic setting of a theory otherwise attained. The song is his own, but the God he sings has been given to him.

The Psalmist's Understanding of His Rôle

WATTS-DUNTON judges that the Great Lyric of the Hebrews is "equal in importance to the Great Drama of Shakespeare, Æschylus, and Sophocles." This is so, but the Great Lyric is a type other than the Great Drama, and we cannot understand the true inwardness of the affinity between Poetry and Religion unless we hold firmly to the distinction.

The Hebrews had no Great Drama, but in their Great Lyric they were not only supreme, they were original and unique. There is nothing of the same rank in ancient Oriental literatures. The Vedic hymns are much

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later than the earliest Hebrew lyrics, and, even so, they are "nebulous and unemotional," they are a cold versification of pantheistic rationalism. The Babylonian hymns, which are older and more akin to the Hebrew, are palpably inferior. They are, as Jastrow expounds, to the end mere incidents of an incantation ritual, the priest, not the poet, fills chief rôle, and as "twin products to the magical texts," they accordingly lack the intense personality of the Psalms. Hence, while it is true that, in Jastrow's words, the Babylonian hymns "constitute the *only* productions in cuneiform [what a testimony this to the lyric!] that have a permanent literary value," they cannot be claimed either in form or contents as anticipations of the Psalms. Here Israel was without real parallel.

Primarily the reason for this was that the Psalmist understood his art and was sincere with himself. He was neither the tool of priest nor the rival of prophet. The prophets sometimes invaded the poetical sphere, and so lyrical is the Hebrew genius that the poetry of the prophets is strongly lyrical. Not only is this perceptible in Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard and Jeremiah's Wedding Glees, but the great mass of the prophetic style, in so far as it is poetical, is lyrical rather than dramatic. On the other side, the Psalmist never (or hardly ever) invaded the prophetic ground. Critics recognize that the Psalms are deeply indebted to prophetic ideas, but the prophets never took their ideas from the Psalms, though they incorporate some Psalms in their books. On the lyric side, the Hebrew was a perfect artist because he realized the conditions of his art. It was for the prophet to find God, for the Psalmist to praise Him; in prophecy God speaks to man, in psalmody man sings to God. The prophet makes Religion, the Psalmist experiences and acclaims it.

VII

The Absence of a Drama in Ancient Israel

IN insisting on the lyric as the characteristic form of Hebrew poetry, and as that form of poetry in which Poetry and Religion are most essentially akin, I am far from asserting that these generalizations are true without qualification. But they are true, and this especially so with regard to Epic and Drama. I entirely accept Budde's conclusion that neither of these leading poetical forms was cultivated in ancient Israel. Some of the prophetic poetry is allied in style to the dramatic, and certain of the historical Psalms have the marks of epic. The Song of Songs and the Book of Job can be loosely described, the one as a drama-

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tic idyll, the other as a dramatic epic. But even if the new theory so ingeniously and ably elaborated by Dr. H. M. Kallen were acceptable (which it is not), namely, that Job was written by a Hebrew poet who had chanced to witness a play of Euripides, this would not prove that the Hebrew genius turned to drama as did that of the Indians and Greeks and possibly of the Teutons. Mr. Kallen's precise point is that the author of Job *imitated* Euripides. Such imitations, episodic and exotic, occurred at other periods, as when the Alexandrian Jew, Ezekiel, actually modelled himself in Greek on Euripides, and (in much later times) M. H. Luzzatto closely followed, in Hebrew, the Italian Guarini. Such imitations are interesting as literary phenomena, but they do not support the belief that drama was a native Hebrew genre in the past. The future will probably give us an indigenous Hebrew drama (*non*-religious, I venture to prophesy), but this will be because all types of culture have so assimilated themselves to each other in the modern world, that the Palestinian Jew of to-morrow will most likely cultivate a form with which his forbears had little sympathy. Little, but perchance some. For it has been suggested that in Greek-speaking countries in the ancient world "religious plays were given at the Jewish festivals for the benefit of the proselytes," and Mommsen states that Julius Cæsar had dramas performed in Hebrew at his popular festivals in Rome. Neither of these suggestions, however, is supported by adequate evidence.

The mistake—for I think it is a mistake—which is made by those who confidently assert that ancient Israel *must* have had a drama, is due to an erroneous *a priori* assumption. This error is the bane of all comparative studies. At Oxford some years ago I ventured to give the disease a name—*totemitis*. Like ends are due to like beginnings—like beginnings lead to like ends. Neither half of this principle is accurate. In the first place, we need not assume that Greek and Indian drama had the same origin; there is no reason why the former might not have arisen, as the Frazer school contend, out of Nature Myth, the latter, as Professor Ridgeway maintains, out of Ancestor Worship. On the other hand, it is possible to detect traces of both the Nature Myth of the dying god of vegetation and of Ancestor Worship in ancient Israel. But it does not follow that because these elements of primitive religion led elsewhere to drama, they did so in Judea. If we were arguing *a priori*, we should rather say that just because the Religion of Israel turned emphatically away from the primitive causes of drama, emancipating itself from the ritual and beliefs on which it is claimed drama was founded, long before the growth of the Indra legends in India or of the Dionysian cult in Greece, we should rather not expect a dramatic impulse in Judea comparable to what we find in India and Greece.

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Religion Not a Mainspring of Drama

IT would be interesting to discuss the theory which discovers the roots of literary fashion in national character. In drama we have an instance to give us pause. The Greek, the Indian, the English national characters are very unlike. Yet all of them were consistent with the dramatic fashion. On the other side, while Elizabethan England was dramatic in its literary fashion, Victorian England found its literary expression in the novel. Thus one and the same national character is susceptible of various impulses. National characters are not so fixed each in itself, they are not so rigidly defined off from each other, that we can attribute to national character such phenomena as the presence or absence of a drama. But the subject of national genius is too intricate to be discussed in a paragraph.

Nor ought we too easily to assent to the view that drama had a religious origin at all. It would carry us too far to attempt to examine this view in the necessary detail. Religion has often had to assert itself *against* drama. Plato felt this, so did the leaders both of Church and Synagogue in the early Christian centuries. When it is produced in evidence that dramas have been written round the themes of religion, have been acted by the ministers of religion, have attracted crowds at the festivals of religion, have found their *locale* in the places devoted to religion—all that is really proven, I think, is that religion has frequently *made use* of drama for its own ends. In doing this, Religion diverted drama from its supreme purpose, which is to criticize the religious theory of life, to offer another theory. Even when drama confirms the religious theory it must do so by a process quite other than that by which the religious theory is attained. The fullest admission of the frequent association of Church and Stage is, however, far other than to concede that Religion was the *cause* of drama. The assemblage of crowds gave occasion to it, just as in olden Judea the Law was read on Mondays and Thursdays because these were market days. The market days were not the cause, they were the occasion of these readings. Naturally, learned clerics would be disposed to write Christian dramas after Greek models, but these were composed for the student to read, not for the actor (unless he were academic) to perform.

Drama was religious in theme in England while life was religious, while the chief occasions of the gatherings of the people were religious. The Church for a time monopolized drama, and the real struggle for an independent English drama was on the one side a lay struggle to emancipate drama from exclusively clerical control, and on the other side the struggle of the Church itself against this method of attracting the people to the precincts of the place of worship. So far from drama having an

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essential connection with religion, it was only with its complete secularization that drama could come to its own. The present advocacy of a revival in England of religious drama merely proves, like the suggested clerical adoption of the cinema play, that religion is ever apt to make use of popular forms. This tendency is laudable enough, when considered from the point of view of those who, claiming that Religion is coextensive with life, would associate Religion with all the manifold interests and expressions of life. But the staging of a Biblical story no more constitutes religious drama than the staging of Maria Stuart by Schiller constituted English drama.

"Dramatic" Elements That Failed to Produce a Drama

THE point, however, which I am chiefly concerned to make is that we must not confuse *cause* with *occasion*. It is impossible, as a rule, to prove a negative. But the experience of Israel does seem to make the impossible possible. Several of the beginnings of English drama were present in Jewish life, and yet these beginnings did not develop into drama. Let me take a late instance first. The theatrical recital of alternate song in Church is one of these beginnings. In order to "fortify the unlearned people in their faith," as the tenth century English *Concordia Regularis* informs us, these acted hymns (to quote Creizenach) were a "sort of living picture-book," and "the people, ignorant of Latin, were to perceive by sight what was inaccessible to the ear." Now this type of antiphonal song, with visible action, is found in the processional Psalms of the Hebrew Bible, such as in the twenty-fourth and the close of the one hundred and eighteenth. But this did not lead to a Jewish drama. On the contrary, this antiphonal scheme was even developed in the medieval Synagogue in a fashion unknown (I think) to the Church. The difference was two-fold. The Hazzan or Precentor was the *sole* executant, with some assistance from an irregular choir and the congregation. Secondly, the hymns were quite "dramatic," not merely because written in dialogue, but also because of the passionate presentation of points of view approaching criticism of religious conventions. Kalir, for instance, gives us in his Elegy of Jeremiah at Machpelah a hymn in which the prophet holds argument with the patriarchs who lie buried in the Cave. Jeremiah concludes (I quote Mrs. Salaman's translation) with the message:

> Turn, O ye perfect ones,
> Unto your rest again;
> I will fulfil for you
> All that your hearts desire:
> Down into Babylon
> With you My Presence went;

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Surely will I return
Your sons' captivity.

Perhaps even more remarkable is another type of Synagogue hymn, constructed in the guise of a dialogue between God and Israel. *Ayumathi* ("My stately love"), begin the stanzas in which God addresses Israel (with a reminiscence of Canticles vi, 4); *Eyulathi* ("my mighty Love"), so open the stanzas in which Israel addresses God (with a reminiscence of Psalm xxii, 20). Full of passion and power, these dialogues ought (on current theories) to have led up to a medieval Hebrew drama. But they did not do so, and this fact adds force to Ward's emphatic contention that "there could be no greater mistake than to suppose that a dialogue, be its progress never so vivacious, is of necessity a drama in embryo." Similarly, it is inexact to contend, as is practically done in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*, column 3798, that because Israel shared certain primitive rites it *therefore* possessed a dramatic literature. Sir A. W. Ward (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, viii, 475) justly protests that though imitative gesture, decoration, dance, and musical song are preliminary steps taken by all peoples, "it does not follow, as is often assumed, that they possess a drama in germ." Historically we can demonstrate it did not follow.

Let us turn to a much earlier instance which goes to prove the same negative. Certain primitive dramatic suggestions may be read in, or into, the record of the lament of the women who annually bewailed the daughter of Jephthah (Judges xi, 40). In the absence of details we cannot build much on that, any more than we can on the report of the women who in the prophet Ezekiel's day (Ezek. viii, 14) wept for Tammuz, who has been identified with Adonis, while the whole scene has been connected with the tragedy of the dying god, victorious in his revival after death. Neither of these rites survived, and Ezekiel's uncompromising denunciation shows how unlikely it is that the supposed literary consequences of such rites should acclimatize themselves in Israel.

A Neglected Opportunity for Drama

ONE such rite, however, did survive. After the devastating conflict between Benjamin and the Tribes, described so vividly at the close of the Book of Judges, the peccant Benjamites were destitute of wives. But Israel had sworn: "Cursed be he that giveth a wife to Benjamin." The impasse was solved by the collusive rape at Shiloh. "There is a feast of the Lord in Shiloh annually," says the narrator, and the Benjamites were to lie in wait in the vineyards when the daughters of Shiloh came out to dance. "And the children of Benjamin did so, and took wives, according to their number, of them that danced, whom they caught."

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Here, then, we have a clearly detailed scene—the ritual dance in the vineyard—the precise kind of thing which, we are told, led to the Dionysian drama. But we have positive proof that it did not so develop in Judea. For this self-same dance survived into the Roman period in an utterly undramatic form. The Mishnah (Taanith iv, 8) has this passage: "Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel said: There were no festive days in Israel like the fifteenth of the month Ab and the Day of Atonement. On these occasions the daughters of Jerusalem went forth in white garments, borrowed (even by the rich) not to shame those who possessed none, and all the garments needed lustration. (Thus attired) the daughters of Jerusalem went forth and danced in the vineyards. And what said they? O youth! lift up thine eyes and see what thou choosest for thyself; cast not thine eyes on outer fairness, but on good upbringing (family), for grace is deceitful and beauty is vain, but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised (Prov. xxxi, 30)." The Talmud comments that this was the appeal of the less attractive. Those surer of their charms spoke otherwise of beauty, and used terms more challenging to susceptible swains.

Be that as it may, we see here a survival of primitive rite, out of which we are told drama emerged elsewhere. But it survived in Israel practically unchanged, with no dramatic development either in form or content. This assuredly is a strong warning against the assumption that in poetry or in folk-institutions like beginnings must lead to like results. And, as a conclusion drawn from the whole of this discussion, I suggest that the example of Israel is decisive as to the real affinity between Poetry and Religion. Israel, admittedly, expressed itself strongly and effectively in the realm of Religion. We cannot think of Religion without thinking also of Israel. As we find no indigenous drama in Israel, while we do find a luxuriant growth of lyric poetry, I am strengthened in the opinion derived primarily from other considerations, that the relation of Poetry and Religion must be sought mainly, if not exclusively, in the Song.

VIII

Israel's Devotion to a Sister Art, Music

THIS view is confirmed by our finding that the only art besides lyric poetry that ancient Israel developed at all conspicuously was music, the correlative to the lyric. In architecture, for instance, as in decorative art, the Hebrew was an imitator, but in music he was a master. He had his own Bezalel, but when he built his Temple Hiram's skilled workmen were to the fore. With music native originality may be detected.

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We are not going too far if we infer that when the Babylonians invited their captives to sing to them one of the Songs of Zion, it was not merely the words they desired to hear, but the melodies that they wished played on the harps hung up on the willows. They must have felt that the exiles possessed a music distinct from their own. After the dissemination of Greek culture in Asia through the campaigns of Alexander, some Greek names of musical instruments are found (Daniel iii, 5-15). But Daniel was not written till the Maccabean age; in the earlier periods there is no trace of any but native Semitic music. It is not easy to understand, as Driver remarks, why the Greek *kitharis* should be found in Daniel, seeing that the Semitic dialects have their own name for lyre. We can understand, on the other hand, the adoption, at the date of Daniel, of the *symphonia* (dulcimer or double flute), perhaps a new instrument, also mentioned in the Mishnah.

Unfortunately, the past did not record much of its music, but no other language can be richer than Hebrew in musical terms, no other sacred literature can be fuller of instrumentation. Not only *shîr* (which we render Song), but also *mizmor* (which we render Psalm), is a musical term, the one referring to the more private, the other to the more congregational lyrics. The elaborate organization of the Levitical orchestras in the Jerusalem Temple, more ornate, it would seem, than in Greek Temples, is another piece of evidence. The invocation to song in Hebrew is very frequently a summons to the musicians to start their instrumental accompaniment. The Book of Psalms terminates in the glorious Hallelujah Chorus, which needed no Handel to make great music of it. It is a chorus in which music and song, and the spirit of God and man, combine, in the great pæan of heaven and earth, in an anticipation of the supreme Song of the Universal Soul to the Universal Lord:

Hallelujah!
Praise God in His sanctuary,
Praise Him in expanse of His power!
Praise Him for His doughty doings,
Praise Him in measure of His exaltation!
Praise Him with blare of the horn,
Praise Him with harp and lyre!
Praise Him with drum and dance,
Praise Him with strings and pipe!
Praise Him with loud castanets,
Praise Him with clashing cymbols!
Let all breath praise the Lord,
Hallelujah!

It is no accident, surely, that David, the traditional author of Psalms, first makes his appearance in the Book of Samuel as a harpist. And in a passage dating from the eighth century B.C. (Amos vi, 5) David is apparently described as an inventor of musical instruments, no doubt

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improvements on the lyre and pipe of antediluvian Jubal. Music was then probably as original in Judea as the lyric. Deborah was some centuries earlier than Sappho, and older still than Pindar. I must not digress into another line of consideration: whether or not it was an inheritance from ancient Israel that made Heine—the greatest modern poet of the Hebrew race—author of a *Book of Songs*, and Mendelssohn—the greatest modern musician of the same ancestry—author of *Songs without Words*. I fancy it is the case that, even at this late date, the Jewish poetical and musical genius tends to remain lyrical. Perhaps the oblivion that has befallen ancient Hebrew music was not an unmixed loss. For the Psalms were not forgotten, and no Hebrew poet thought himself qualified to imitate them. It was not till the eighteenth century that we come across an attempt to turn the Psalms into rhymes—a monstrous desecration. But the very fact that the Psalms were either so inimitable or so sacred as to make imitation profane, did cramp the lyric ambitions of the Synagogue poets. The finest models in Jewish literary art were more or less consciously avoided. In music the Jewish artist has had a freer hand, and though none of Heine's lyrics has found its way into the Synagogue psalmody, several of Mendelssohn's tunes have won their assured place in the Synagogue music.

IX

Poetry and Religion Are Best Kept Apart

THOUGH conscious that some of these opinions are open to dispute, I am fully convinced of the soundness of the main position. Both Poetry and Religion are creative forces, and they are independent when regarded in that, their highest aspect. The Prophet I have taken as representing Religion, the Dramatist as representing Poetry, in the creative sphere. These terms are all fluid; there are many varieties of prophecy and drama, some of them far removed from creative quality. None the less, a distinction between lyric and drama may fairly be drawn on the ground that while the latter is a product of the creative imagination, the former arises out of the "capacity for impression." It was not till relatively late that the Hebrews adopted the Greek word "poet" (maker); they preferred to call their Poet the "Singer" (*meshorrer*), a word which persisted long after the Greek Ode-writer had become Poet. Mr. Livingstone has drawn certain conclusions from the fact that the Greeks had no Bible. We might complete the contrast by saying: the Greeks had no Bible, the Hebrews no Drama. The creative imagination of Israel gave us ethical monotheism, the creative imagination of Greece

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gave us the dramatic view of life. The former controlled, the latter exercised no control over human genius. Hence Greek science and philosophy is absolute, Hebraic pragmatic.

If we regard these two varieties of capacity from the point of view of our present discussion, we may find that they offer a partial solution to our problem. Religion and Poetry, so far from being identical in function, operate most efficiently when independent of each other. When either is expected or allowed to dominate the other, to interfere with the free operation of the other, the effect is disastrous. Poetry has injured Religion in many ways. It has introduced indecision where certainty and precision are imperative. It has also done some harm by stereotyping and perpetuating false conceptions of Religion by the abiding tyranny of the beautiful phrase. Chiefly, it has wronged Religion by intruding its creative energy where it has no right of entry. There is no prophetical Hell. Poetry, if it did not plan, at all events constructed Hell, which owes far more to the poets, to Virgil, to Dante, to Milton, than to all the theologies put together. The authors of apocalypses were poets, not prophets.

Religion Shackles Art

ART, said Bishop Gore the other day, has served Religion ill by painting false representations of great Scriptural figures. But has not Religion also injured Art? Euripides cramped his genius because he marred his tragedies by introducing the *deus ex machina* to save his Iphigenia from the supreme sacrifice, just as Isaac was snatched from the altar by an Angel out of heaven. Religion (which in this respect is Romance under another name) must have its happy endings, to the great detriment of drama, when it allows itself to be turned from its purpose, which knows no ends, be they happy or the reverse. Nor was it a good thing that the genius of great painters should have been circumscribed by the obligation to produce endless repetitions of Biblical groups. Religion inspired the architects of temple and cathedral. But architecture must go alone if it is to work out its best possibilities. We see architecture at present in low water because, while it has lost the religious motive, it has not acquired any other. And yet there is hope. The great structures are no longer only cathedrals. The New York skyscraper—which, when good, is very good art indeed—is evidence that architecture, having evaded the shackle of Religion, is going alone, and, going alone, may go far as well as high.

Both true Art and true Religion burn with the desire to create. But they create in various ways: Religion under inspiration of the discovery or invention of an outer control, Art with discovery or invention of inner

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autonomy. Creatively, Religion injects from without, Art projects from within; but, as both are powers of the same human totality, these processes interact. What Religion injects as law, the soul projects back as its own intuition; what Art projects in experiment, the experiment injects as a formal ideal. The trouble with Religion is that it is too apt to abandon its creative function, too apt to rest on the laurels of its earlier creative triumphs. This degeneration will last "until a prophet shall rise again in Israel," to use the sad old phrase.

The Lyric Union of Poetry and Religion

THE two influences, Poetry and Religion, intersect in certain artistic forms, but primarily in the lyric. To the lyrist, Religion gives the Great Model, Poetry the freedom of self-expression. But therein we see again the difference between Religion and Poetry in the greatest forms of both. Ibsen said that one must so conduct one's life as to realize one's self. There spoke the dramatist. Religion asks us so to conduct our life as to realize God. Self-realization is dramatic, self-expression lyrical, and it is in self-expression that Poetry is the most genuine ally to Religion. "As soon as you identify religion with morality, you alienate the artist from religion," says a recent writer. This is my exact point. Art must make its own morality, which, we may truly hope, will tend to coincide with the morality of Religion, but will be none the less the outcome of an original experiment, not of an accepted convention or of preconceived theories of life such as are given in Religion. Creative Religion and creative Poetry ought, indeed, to be *critical* of each other, each the other's touchstone of truth. But the two must remain independent. A *Job* must submit and recant; a *Prometheus* can rebel and resist to the end. For though it may be that in the lost sequel of Æschylus, Prometheus was reconciled with Zeus, the Olympians conquering the Titans, yet the dramatist conceives the evolution of something above both, and represents Zeus changing quite as much as Prometheus. But in the Biblical story it is Job who changes, God is and must be changeless, though man's conception of Him changes and grows.

But the Great Lyric is great Poetry, and it is also great Religion. Watts-Dunton says that the Great Lyric "*must* be religious," it *must* be "an outpouring of the soul not towards man but towards God." Drama, I should add, is essentially the outpouring of the soul not towards God, but towards man. And because God endures, changeless, eternally true to divine nature, and because the Hebrew Psalmist was true to human nature, the Great Lyric endures, changeless, eternally true also. In Religion the message of Israel was truth about God; in Art the lyric

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response to that truth. Thus Religion and Poetry come into active coöperation where God and man meet; where, under the impulse of the Divine outside himself, the poet feels drawn to pour out his inner self in adoration. And in his own Art, as in his own Religion—though he fell far below the Hellene in many aspects of Art and in some phases of Religion—the Hebrew was unique. The Hellene saw more, expressed more variously; but what the Hebrew saw, he saw clearly and whole; and what he saw he expressed with an art, limited in scope, but within that scope perfect beyond perfection's dream. Am I claiming too much when I call this Hebrew vision of God, and this Hebrew response of man, unique? If so, that fine critic, Watts-Dunton, claimed too much also. For he wrote: "The Great Lyric seems to belong as a birthright to those descendants of Shem who, yearning always to look straight into the face of God and live, could (when the Great Lyric was sung) see not much else." Ay, but I ask, seeing God, was there much else (that counts) left for man to see? Singing God, was there much else (that counts) left for man to sing?

Israel Abrahams

THE Second Annual Zunz Memorial Lecture, on the subject of "Jewish Thought As Reflected in the Halakah," by Professor Louis Ginzberg, one of the greatest of Talmudic scholars of this generation, will be published in an early issue of THE MENORAH JOURNAL.

Our readers will recall the First Lecture of this series (established in honor of Leopold Zunz by the Menorah Educational Conference), given last year by Professor Hartley Burr Alexander, on "The Hebrew Contribution to the Americanism of the Future," which appeared in the February and April issues of THE MENORAH JOURNAL for this year.

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The Work of Israel Friedlaender

[EDITORS' NOTE: In common with the rest of the community the Intercollegiate Menorah Association has suffered an irreparable loss in the tragic death of Professor Israel Friedlaender (born 1876), who was murdered by bandits in the Ukraine (July 5, 1920) while carrying relief to Jewish war-sufferers in behalf of the Joint Distribution Committee. Thus a man of exceptional intellectual attainments and of ardent devotion to his people was cut off in his prime. Professor Friedlaender supported the Menorah movement from its beginning, was among the most popular and stimulating of Menorah lecturers at our universities, contributed to THE MENORAH JOURNAL, and served on the Menorah Board of Governors. The appreciations here presented illuminate the character and accomplishments of Professor Friedlaender from three different angles.]

I

A Chassid's Service to American Judaism

BY MRS. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER

BORN in Russia—in Kovel—the child of the Ghetto, the embodiment at once of its bitter tragedy as well as of the eternal hopefulness of the Jew—Israel Friedlaender was early recognized as a "wunderkind." At the age of sixteen he went from Russia to Germany there to develop his fund of Jewish lore and to satisfy his thirst for secular knowledge. It is not too much to say, that so thoroughly did he make this new environment his object of study and thought, particularly in so far as its values might enhance Judaism, that to this day Jewish nationalism as he propagated it is the inspiration of much of Jewish endeavor in Germany. He early exhibited the remarkable penetration which discerned the lasting significance of passing events. It was not long before he was looked upon in Germany as a leader in Judaism, and it was at this point of his career that Dr. Schechter requested him to give up his work as *Privatdocent* of a German University (a distinction never before, or since, I am told, accorded a Russian Jew who had no record of a secular education) in order to become Professor of Biblical Literature at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Three outstanding characteristics enabled him to be an exponent of

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Jewish life. The first, his historical sense, enabled him to view Jewish life with a consciousness of the past, which he utilized to interpret the present. "Nowhere," he says, "is this historical method of approach more applicable and indeed more imperative than it is in the case of the Jews, in whose life the past and the present are inextricably bound up with one another."

Perhaps the most striking illustration of this temper lay in his analogy between the problems facing the Jewish Arabic period and those of the present day. By this he implied that it is possible for the Jews to participate in the life and culture around them and yet remain Jewish. "The great and glorious Arabic period deals a death-blow to the dilemma besetting the problem of Judaism, and is in itself an overwhelming proof and shining example of the compatibility of an active participation of the Jews in the life and culture of the nations around them." Another instance of this historical sense was his method of dealing with Jewish nationalism. "History has created a certain spiritual ground under our feet. By further development upon this ground we shall continue to be a nation full of original creative powers."

THE second characteristic which permeated his life arose from a conception of Judaism which shifted the center of gravity from the individual to the community. The aim of his life was to live for the sake of the perpetuation and the well-being of the community of which he was a member. When the individual thus values the community more than his own life and strives after its happiness as though it were wrapt up in his individual well-being, he finds the truest satisfaction and no longer feels keenly the bitterness of his individual existence, because he sees the end for which he lives and suffers. But this can only be so when the life of the community has an end of such importance as to outweigh, in the judgment of the individual, all possible hardships. It was with this idea in mind that Israel as a community became a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation"—a nation consecrated from its birth to the service of setting the whole of mankind an example by its law.

Touching indeed is this quotation from one of his letters written in Paris last February after a conference with Jewish European leaders: "I hope we shall soon be able to get to the Ukraine, for the task awaiting us is immense. I hope everything will go well with me, and I shall return safely. Should God will otherwise, do not pity me. It is a great privilege to be able to do a big thing and I do not wish to be remembered." With what pain I recall now his gratitude to me for the mutual sacrifice we were able to make for our people, when we realized that this mission would keep us apart, would keep him for months from his children, whom

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he adored as no father ever more adored an only child. In this connection may I recall just how he pleaded with me to let him go—in words to this effect: "What is now being done by the Joint Distribution Committee for the relief of Russian Jewry will broaden out and become a work of reconstruction. America cannot afford to, nor will she, desert her brethren in Russia in the years to come. In spite of ravages of war and pogrom I believe there is a spark of life still left which we need to kindle, before it dies out altogether, a spark which will help us solve the problem of Judaism in America. I am a Russian Jew," he continued, "and I know my people as well as any Jew living. I know, too, the needs of American Jewry and its problem. I know the strength and the weaknesses of my people as few do, and it seems to me that I can serve my people better in this way than in any other. Russian Jews have spiritual goods in their possession that we in the west need badly; if only American Jewry would accept these goods as compensation for their generosity, the intercourse between the two sections of Jewry would become a source of blessing for both of them and prove of lasting benefit for the development of Judaism in America. If such a basis for our future be established I shall not have lived in vain." And so it was I let him go: I, the only one who could have stayed him with a half breath.

Surely his death merely emphasizes what he pleaded for in his lifetime—service to his people!

THE third characteristic, which perhaps more than any other permeated every thought and action and which made him so inestimably precious and attractive to all who came in contact with him, was that touch of chesed so beautifully expressed by Dr. Schechter. The chassid, he said, is great, and *great men are not frequent.* In fact they belong to that section of humanity of which the rabbis have said that they are so few, that the "Holy One, blessed be He," distributed them over all generations, so that humanity at large may profit by their counsel. As it is said, "For the rocks of the earth are the Lord's, and He set the world upon them." However far apart they may be, the rocks still exist. The title of such a one is neither Rabbi nor Doctor nor Professor. But as our sages tell us, he is called friend, beloved, lover of God and lover of mankind. The Torah, whose secrets are revealed to him, "clothes him with meekness and reverence. He becomes modest, long-suffering and forgiving, and it makes him great and exalts him above all things." Such is the ideal scholar of the old rabbinic times—the chassid—and of such was Israel Friedlaender.

In the soul of the chassid exists no room whatever for those ugly qualities which in one way or another impair the relations between man

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and his fellow-man. These are, according to one authority, "pride, anger, petulance, despair, hatred, jealousy, covetousness, desire for power and self-assertion." They all belong to the ugly qualities of man, making man's communion with God impossible, and hence are incompatible with chesed. How fervently he would say, "O, my God, guard my tongue from evil and my lips from speaking guile—and to such as curse me let my soul be dumb, yea, let my soul be unto all as the dust." This will of his to be chassid-like came home to me on a certain occasion, when there was every reason for his feeling angry with his fellow-men, and I was not hesitant to express my opinion. I remember so well his reproof, as he said, "What do I care for the attacks of men . . . if the Lord is on my side, I will not fear, what can men do unto me." A chassid he was, a man of God indeed, beautiful observer of the law, which eliminates all self and makes of man a real servant of the Lord, ready for sacrifice and rejoicing in it.

With this ideal of chesed as his inspiration, he urged that it should become the predominant feature of all our Jewish enterprises. He would never allow one to forget that besides using a man as a thinking machine, he is also possessed of a living soul—a Jewish soul—and "souls cannot be organized."

NOTHING indicated more pointedly his conception of the organization of Jewish life. Jewish life should be so ordered that it may be permeated with more than a mere desire for efficiency. Organization in itself may "save thousands of Jewish lives," but unless it is done in the spirit of Judaism—in the spirit of chesed, it is bound to fail. You cannot organize souls.

"The problem of the Jews, of the physical misery of our nation, engages the heart and the hand of every Jew with a spark of Jewish consciousness in him. Powerful organizations grapple energetically and more or less successfully with this problem. But most of us utterly ignore the problem of Judaism, the problem of our spiritual misery. They are blind to the fact that the dawn of the Jews is the dusk of Judaism; that the more emancipated, the more prosperous, the more successful the Jews become, the more threatened becomes Judaism, the only reason and the only foundation of their existence. *And while our heart is aroused over the martyrs that fell by the hands of violent mobs, we witness with indifference the disappearance of that for which they became martyrs.* And while we bewail the few leaves that were plucked off our trees by brutal hands, we coolly observe how large sections of our foliage wither and fall off, because the growing forces of the trees are too weak to hold them."

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Dr. Leff, a former pupil of Dr. Friedlaender's, who joined the unit that went out to Poland with him, and became his companion during the last three weeks of his life, tells me how he inspired the remnant of each Kehillah as they wandered from village to village. The hand of death was all around them every day of those three weeks. Our dying people at first refused money and raiment from their hands; but later on when he spoke to them, they unearthed all their records— those records which I am told are so precious to them that many a leader of the community sacrificed his life to save them from the enemy. They told him all that was in their hearts. He understood them; they looked upon him as a true friend and they wept, saying, "If you can take us all from here, take us; if not, let us stay here to die—the hand of God is on us!"

In one of his essays published in THE MENORAH JOURNAL,* he deals with the problems facing American Jewry, under the Hegelian principle of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. I should like to show that the three characteristics I have described combined to develop within him a synthetic attitude towards Jewish life, that Dr. Friedlaender himself was the personification of this synthesis—and that it must be our aim to see that the synthesis he pictures becomes the common ideal of American Israel. "American Israel needs peace to carry out the great task confronting it, and Zionism is no less in need of peace to gain the heart of those whose hearts are still Jewish." He points out that these issues are of particular and immediate significance to the Jews of this country, for America promises to become the greatest Jewish center in the history of the dispersion, and no other offers even an approximate opportunity for the development of a Diaspora Judaism.

HIS historical sense, enabling him to look back and view the Jewish people from the dawn of their birth to the present, prevented him from embracing a lifeless conception of Judaism, and enabled him to see the development of the Jewish people as a people endowed with religious genius. At the same time his conception of the Jewish people as a world community, combined with this historical sense, tended to emphasize the idea of Jewish nationality. The first prevented him from promulgating a racial nationalism which would forget that the Jewish people are a religious people. The second prevented him from believing that the Jews are a people destined to be scattered throughout the world for the purpose of preaching the unity of God. And the idea of chesed enabled him to view things in the spirit of Jewish life, in the spirit of understanding. In short, as he himself expresses it, "The antithesis, religion versus nationalism, must be replaced by the synthesis, religion plus nationalism."

*_The Present Crisis in American Jewry_, in THE MENORAH JOURNAL for December, 1916.

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In similar manner his attitude to the future development of Judaism in America was determined by his outlook on Jewish life. On the one side were those who emphasized Palestine as the center, and practically negated the Diaspora. On the other were those who emphasized Diaspora Judaism as against Palestine. For him once again the antithesis, Diaspora versus Palestine, had to be replaced by the synthesis Diaspora plus Palestine. In the spirit of that synthesis Judaism must be developed in America, not excluding Palestine as the inspirational source for the Jewry of the world.

The Jewish problem has nearly always been formulated and handled as a problem of the Jews; but the problem of the Jews depends upon external conditions only. But Dr. Friedlaender's formulation, which centers the problem not on Jews but on Judaism, and says "that Judaism must again break the narrow frame of a creed and resume its original function as a culture, as the expression of the Jewish spirit," appeals to the deepest sentiments which lie hidden in the heart of every thinking Jew.

"For, be it remembered, that the troubles disrupting the Judaism of the day are equally undermining all forms of civilization, and that any solution that can be reached by Jews will apply with equal if not with greater force to the whole religious position of the civilized world. This gives a world-historic significance to what at first sight might seem to be internal controversies of Judaism; and it may easily happen that any solution reached by Jews of their internal problems might serve as a means of bringing peace to the troubled waters of universal religion."

THE problem which is uppermost in the minds of all of us to-day, Americanization, had Dr. Friedlaender's calm and close consideration. To judge by the manner in which we Jews try to solve it, one is forced to admit that there is little understanding of what is asked by America of the Jew, and still less understanding of the psychology of the Jew and of his background. Dr. Friedlaender would have us "restore the equilibrium of the Jewish immigrant, acquaint him with the conditions of the new land, not only to strengthen him in his struggle for existence, but also to enable him to realize the true foundations of American life and American culture. But recreate his natural environment for him at the same time, and assure him that the best of his heritage is required of him for the progress of his adopted country."

"Civilization," said a member of our Senate recently, "may well rush to the rescue of the Jew when threatened with destruction, for if the Bible and the Talmud of the Jews, with all that they teach and mean, should be stricken from the earth, mankind would relapse with frightful speed into savage and barbaric night." When we read such utterances

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as these, it is surely time to halt and think of what we have to do so that Judaism may become as it was in the days of old, "a tree of life for those who hold it fast, bestowing happiness on all those who cling to it."

So, too, did Dr. Friedlaender impress upon us a decade ago, when the Bureau of Jewish Education of which he was the chairman, was first conceived, that "never before in history has so large a Jewish community as we form in this country, had both the opportunity and responsibility of proving that the essentials of Judaism, so far from being in contradiction to the cardinal elements of modern civilization, are complementary to them. Constituting an integral part of the Republic, we are under obligations to demonstrate that the principles for which Israel has fought and bled for over two thousand years are perfectly compatible with, and essential to, the fundamental principles upon which the American nation is building a wonderful structure of human liberty and happiness. Our obligation is twofold. On the one hand, we must Americanize in the higher sense every Jew in this country, infusing into him the spirit of self-reliance, fair play, and social coöperation, and on the other hand, we must build up the structure of Jewish life so as not only to enable ourselves to hold our own, Jewishly speaking, but also to become an indispensable element in the progress of the country."

And so it will be found that the ultimate goal at which he was aiming was for union and peace in American Israel and for progress in America. That can only be brought about by a thorough knowledge of our great literature, in which the soul has found shelter and expression for untold generations, with a broad sympathy and loving understanding for all the aspirations and cravings and longing and hopes recorded in this very literature. It is only such a thorough and hearty union which will enable us to deal with the great problems, spiritual and otherwise, confronting us.

It was his desire to unite every group of men working for a better Judaism and a better America on a common platform. He addressed himself especially to the younger generation, through whom he hoped one day to see the realization of a golden age for American Judaism.

DR. FRIEDLAENDER'S last message to America, addressed to the Seminary graduates on the occasion of their commencement, set forth the situation in a phrase: "Israel's Torah depends upon American Israel." Still more forceful, perhaps, is the memo. which I chanced to find among his papers recently returned to me: "Before leaving for Kiev, brought face to face with indescribable misery, find Israel's Torah depends upon American Israel." As I have pointed out before, he had hoped to find the spark to revivify Judaism in America in Russian Jewry.

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It was only because he began to lose the hope that American Jewry was on the right path towards a revival of the heart that he had decided to see for himself what hope he might find among our sorely oppressed brethren in Russia. That last message tells us that we cannot draw any more upon Russian Jewry for our spiritual sources. "Israel's Torah depends upon American Israel." We must rely upon ourselves!

World Jewry is bereaved by the loss of Dr. Friedlaender, and it has not hesitated to say so. Our heart is aroused over our martyr, but will it continue to remain indifferent to the disappearance of that for which he became a martyr—our Judaism? As for him, he died, as he had lived, in his faith,—died, as tradition says, "in a kiss," embracing, as it were, the ideal to which he had consecrated his life, and for which he had toiled and suffered till his last breath.

II

Friedlaender the Scholar

By Alexander Marx

Professor of History, Jewish Theological Seminary of America

I SHALL try in this brief sketch of Dr. Friedlaender's scientific activity to point out his accomplishments in Jewish and Oriental learning, of which many who appreciate his public activities are not fully aware. He was one of the greatest Arabists in this country, thoroughly familiar not only with the Arabic language but with Arabic thought and culture, an excellent Hebrew philologian, a Bible exegete with original conceptions, an historian of deep insight and remarkably clear presentation, a teacher of medieval Jewish philosophy, a gifted publicist and objective reviewer, a rare linguist and master of style in Hebrew, German and English, both in writing and in speaking.

When Israel Friedlaender came to Berlin in his eighteenth year he intended to acquaint himself with the advances of Western education and culture, but he was so thoroughly imbued with Jewish learning through the education he had received at home and so familiar with Jewish literature as it had developed in Russia and Poland that from the very beginning he could give as well as receive. He found that

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some of the Hebrew and Russian writers had much to offer even to the Western Jews, and his exceptional gift for languages and style made him particularly fit to act as mediator. In 1898 he translated from the Russian into German Dubnow's Jewish History, an essay on the philosophy of history, now familiar to most of us in Miss Szold's English re-translation. Friedlaender was a student at the time and he signed the book only with his initials. Seven years later his translation of S. M. Dubnow's "Die Grundlagen des Nationaljudentums" made another work of the same writer accessible to the German reading public. An English lecture included in his collected essays presents the substance of Dubnow's "Theory of Jewish Nationalism" to the English reader.

But much more than by Dubnow, Friedlaender was influenced by the ideas of Achad Ha'Am, a writer to whom he always looked with special admiration and reverence. His translation of Achad Ha'Am's Hebrew essays into German introduced this Jewish thinker to the Western world. That translation of a few separate essays was received with so much interest that in 1904 he undertook the publication of a considerable volume which had the distinction of appearing in a second edition in 1913, together with a second volume translated by another hand. Since then an English translation has appeared too, but I think we are justified in stating that it is due to Dr. Fiedlaender that Achad Ha'Am and his theories became so well known among the Western Jews who do not read Hebrew.

Friedlaender frequently returned to this favorite author of his, and tried to familiarize the people with Achad Ha'Am's ideas, as is evidenced by a public lecture he delivered at the Seminary some fifteen years ago and now included in his collected essays. These German translations of Friedlaender show his remarkable skill in rendering the words of the Hebrew and Russian writers into an excellent, idiomatic German and the reader would never guess that the translator had only acquired this language two or three years previously.

WHEN Friedlaender came to Berlin with the intention of acquiring the Rabbinical degree at the Seminary, he began at the same time to study Semitic languages at the University of Berlin, and in order to get the Doctor's degree he went a few years later to Strassburg University where he enjoyed the instruction of the greatest master in Semitic studies, Theodor Nöldeke. The latter soon became very fond of his unusually gifted pupil and greatly encouraged him in his work. Friedlaender became so deeply interested in his subject that he decided to change his career and to devote himself wholly to Semitics, with a natural preference for subjects which had some bearing on Jewish matters. For his Doctor's

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dissertation he selected an investigation of the Arabic language of Maimonides and his researches led him to the conclusion that the common idea about a special Judeo-Arabic dialect had no real foundation. Maimonides, he showed, wrote the same Arabic as his most cultured Mohammedan contemporaries, only that he was more free from the literary influence of the language of the Koran, which restricted the Mohammedans in their literary expression. Accordingly, Friedlaender maintained that Maimonides' works represent the Arabic of his time in a purer form than the works of Mohammedan writers possibly could. While the Hebrew of Maimonides, as of all Judeo-Spanish writers, is not free from Arabisms, no traces of Hebraic influence can be discovered in his Arabic style. This Friedlaender pointed out in the introduction to the first part of his "Der Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides," his first scientific production containing an Arabic-German dictionary of all the words not found or insufficiently supported by evidence in the ordinary Arabic dictionaries. This book is far superior to the common run of doctors' dissertations and exhibits the author's thorough equipment in Arabic philology as well as his great industry and exactness. It showed the Orientalists the importance of the Judeo-Arabic texts for their field of studies; it was received very favorably by competent critics and proved to be a great help to succeeding editors of Maimonidian texts. The grammatical part for which Friedlaender collected very rich materials was unfortunately never worked out, and only a few passages of it can be found in the introduction to Friedlaender's "Selections from the Arabic Writings of Maimonides," which appeared in 1909 in the "Semitic Study Series."

Maimonides remained the favorite subject of Friedlaender's studies. In 1904, a year after his arrival in this country, he delivered a public lecture on Maimonides on the seven hundredth anniversary of the death of this great thinker. Besides this general essay, which was translated into German, his "Past and Present" also includes a lecture on "Maimonides as an Exegete" and a paper on "Maimonides as a Master of Style." He published in different periodicals several responsa of Maimonides in the Arabic original with interesting notes and introductions. These were taken chiefly from manuscripts of the Genizah. From the same source he published a letter congratulating Maimonides, probably on his appointment as a Naggid, *i. e.*, the official head of Egyptian Jewry. This letter gives an interesting contribution to the characterization of the philosopher. For several years Friedlaender labored on an edition of a larger text of Maimonides which I believe is nearly ready for publication—the famous letter to the Yemen on the question whether they should believe in a man who claimed to be the Messiah. Friedlaender intended to edit this letter from the unique manuscript of the Arabic original in the library of our Seminary and the three extant

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Hebrew translations of it. In the Arabic text Friedlaender found a lengthy historical statement on some false Messiahs which all the translators curiously had omitted. Together with this he wanted to publish two other cognate treatises of Maimonides on "Immortality" and on "Conversion under Compulsion" as well as a few Arabic letters found in our manuscript. I hope that it will be possible to have these important texts published from his materials. In this connection the edition of some further Judeo-Arabic texts from Genizah manuscripts may be mentioned. The most interesting of them is the fragment of a curious "Mohammedan Book on Augury in Hebrew Characters," an almost unique specimen of the fusion of Islam with Judaism, which aptly illustrates the fact that popular superstition does not hesitate to transgress confessional barriers. Two others represented Halakhic treatises by Samuel ibn Hofni and Isaac bar Ruben. Many more such texts have been copied by Friedlaender for inclusion in the Schechter Studies. Friedlaender accompanied these as well as some of the responsa of Maimonides with an excellent Hebrew translation of his own.

WHEN Friedlaender made up his mind to follow a University career and to become a Semitic scholar he selected Arabic as his main field. He could not, of course, limit himself to Jewish studies but had to devote himself to Mohammedan history and literature as well. Wellhausen had just started his fundamental researches into early Arabic history and had shown how the different schools of tradition had influenced the Arabic historians. These investigations seem to have greatly attracted Friedlaender, who treated the same subjects from different angles. In his "Probevortrag" preceding his admission as lecturer (Privatdocent) at Strassburg University he discussed the tendency of the various historical constructions of the Mohammedan sources and showed that there were religious reasons for their falsifications. The murder, *e. g.*, of the third Khalif, Othman, by some of Mohammed's most trusted companions whom the prophet had promised a place in the Paradise, deeply hurt the religious feelings of orthodox Moslems. They maintained that since the act was absolutely against all the religious prescriptions, it could not have been committed by such pious men. They accordingly shifted the blame to an enigmatic person, Abdallah ben Saba, a converted Jew reputed to be the founder of the Shiitic heresy. In his inaugural lecture on "The Messianic Idea in the Islam," Friedlaender pointed to the strong influence of Jewish Messianism and the Christian heterodox doctrine of Docetism on the development of the Mohammedan heresies. To the study of these heresies and especially that of the Shiites, Friedlaender devoted considerable time. He based his researches on the manuscript account of a

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prominent Mohammedan theologian of the 11th century—Ibn Hazm. This and other investigations were interrupted by his acceptance of Doctor Schechter's call to our Seminary. But Friedlaender never gave them up and during his repeated visits to England he continued them in the British Museum.

The large use which Friedlaender made of the manuscripts even for texts of which printed editions are available, like Shahrastani, is a characteristic indication of his painstaking exactness in scholarly work. Before Friedlaender had a chance to publish this work the text of Ibn Hazm was printed in Cairo. The rich material on the Shiites which Friedlaender had collected appeared in 1909 as a reprint from volumes 28-29 of the Journal of the American Oriental Society. The first portion contains an English rendering of the parts of Ibn Hazm's book relating to his subject. He corrected the printed text in many instances from the manuscripts he had consulted. The second part gives the commentary, with considerable cognate material gathered from other sources. This work did not possess the finished form which he always liked to give to his literary productions. The material had grown too much under his hands and recasting would have entailed more time than he could devote to the subject. In order to make accessible the results of his investigations he finally decided, distasteful as it was to him, to publish it in this fragmentary form. The work found the warmest approval of competent scholars like Nöldeke and Goldziher and caused a scientific body in far-away India, the Indian Research Society of Caluctta, to appoint its author to corresponding membership.

HIS occupation with these Mohammedan heresies suggested to Friedlaender close relations with similar Jewish movements in Arabic speaking countries; and considerable reading in Jewish sources on earlier and later sects, down to the movement of Sabbatai Zebi, convinced him of the existence of such influences. His "Jewish-Arabic Studies," which he published in the first three volumes of the new series of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, are mainly devoted to this subject and throw light on many of the strange theories which we meet in our Hebrew sources. To Abdallah ben Saba, the founder of Shiitism, and his Jewish origin, Friedlaender devoted a monograph, in which he pointed out the Jewish elements and influences in Shiitism which most of the modern scholars who had studied the subject and tried to explain from Persian or other sources had not realized. Here Wellhausen had been his predecessor, but Friedlaender with his thorough acquaintance with Jewish literature could in many points correct Wellhausen, prove his thesis quite differently and adduce more striking evidence of the correlation between the Shiites and

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Jews. He especially pointed to relations with the theology of the Falashas but he emphasized from the outset that he could not very well reach satisfactory results and had to leave many questions and problems open.

Once more Friedlaender returned to his Strassburg studies in his book "Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderoman" in which he discussed some complicated problems of folklore and literary history. His investigations extending to stories of Alexander the Great in Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Ethiopic include a fascinating chapter on the traces of the Alexander stories in the Babylonian Talmud.

WHEN the world war brought the problem of the Jews of Russia and Poland once more to the foreground of general interest the need of reliable information in order to understand their situation and to take the right steps for their protection induced Friedlaender to write in 1915 his book offering a bird's-eye view of their history and their culture. It is based on a series of lectures he had delivered in Dropsie College, and presents in a popular form a comprehensive picture of the history of the Jews in Eastern Europe. His description of their spiritual development helps the westerner to appreciate their mental outlook. This was the first book to treat of this subject in English and filled a distinct gap. It was translated into German. A popular edition of this book, the third, appeared in 1920. At the same time he undertook an English translation of Dubnow's comprehensive "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland from the Earliest Times until the Present Day," the first volume of which appeared in 1916, while the text of the third volume was issued for private circulation before the Versailles Conference in 1919. This final volume will soon appear, completed by an elaborate index making the rich information contained in the work easily accessible for reference. When approaching this task Friedlaender found that he could not limit himself to a mere translation, but that the Russian original had to be recast and edited to a considerable extent in order to make it acceptable to the American public.

Friedlaender's historical studies maintained close relations with the present, as he was always earnestly concerned with the well being of his people. His last published book, "Past and Present," a selection from his Jewish Essays, contains many of his contributions to the discussion of Jewish problems of the day, especially of American Jewry. Here we find the best thought of the mature sympathetic observer who had carefully followed since his youth the Jewish problems on two continents with rare understanding and who was at least as much concerned with the spiritual and national revival of his people as he was with his scientific pursuits.

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His contributions to the study of the Bible, with which the volume opens, make it clear that "Biblical science with its bewildering divergence of opinion" did not overmuch appeal to him, and that he was too conscientious a scholar to accept its critical dicta uncritically. He was convinced that "ignorabimus" must remain the answer to many of the mooted problems of Biblical criticism and he did not feel a call to add new hypotheses to the large number of those propounded by the Biblical students of our generation. Altogether he felt that we are much more Talmud Jews than Bible Jews. As much as he loved the Bible (indeed he knew the Hebrew original by heart and had actually every word of it at his finger-tips), he was more attracted by the later literature as a subject of study. There was one task, however, which Dr. Friedlaender eagerly hoped to accomplish some day—a commentary on Isaiah and perhaps on some other prophetical books. He felt that a modern interpretation from a Jewish point of view, in contradiction to the recent work in this field, would constitute a contribution of real value.

IN ESTIMATING the scientific work of Dr. Friedlaender we must admire his many-sidedness and brilliancy as well as the minute exactness of his research. He had an unfailing eye for the essential and was quick to grasp a problem in its entirety. He intuitively formed a mental picture which enabled him to put all the details in their proper place and proportion. He understood how to make his presentation clear and interesting, however complicated and foreign to the reader the subject matter might be. His striving for accomplished literary form is never permitted to interfere with the scientific accuracy of the research. As a characteristic one may point here to the elaborate indices he added to some of his later books, and on which he spent as much time and effort as on the clearness of his presentation.

Dr. Friedlaender can serve us as a model of the true objective scholar who combined to a remarkable degree thoroughness and lucidity. The rare blending of the East and the West which did not cause the slightest break in his personality made his collaboration so precious in our country and in our time of transition, and makes us feel his loss the more poignantly. We can realize how much he would have contributed to our life and to our knowledge if he had been spared.

Alexander Marx

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III

Friedlaender the Student*

By J. L. Magnes

Chairman, Executive Committee of the New York Kehillah (Jewish Community)

I WANT to speak of Israel Friedlaender the student. I do not mean to appraise his value in the world of scholarship. That must be done by men of learning, whose researches entitle them to form judgments concerning Friedlaender's historical and literary theories, and his contribution to the sum total of Jewish and Oriental knowledge. As a scholar, he was, of course, always the student. I would speak of him, rather, as a student in the narrower sense of the term, as one who kept always young through contact with the spirit and the aspirations of the students in the colleges and seminaries and universities. He was actually a student in his manner of entering into the life and problems of each student group. Nothing stimulated him more than to keep abreast of each generation of students and to share their spiritual fortunes.

I first heard of Israel Friedlaender in the winter of 1900-1, when I was a student at the University of Berlin and the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums. In those days the tidings of the Hebrew renascence had not reached the part of America from which I had come. To my surprise and good fortune, I was thrown in with a group of Jewish students from different parts of Central and Eastern Europe who were engaged in propaganda in behalf of Hebrew as a living tongue. One member of this group was a young German Jew who, the year before, had been almost as ignorant of the living Hebrew as I was. In his compassion, he showed me some mimeographed sheets he had studied during that year. He told me that his Hebrew instructor was a young Doctor, a flaming spirit, named Friedlaender, who was then in the Semitic Department of the University of Strassburg. This early pupil of Friedlaender's, it may be of interest to remark, has recently become Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Berlin.

Israel Friedlaender found himself quite naturally among that group of Jewish students in Berlin who were carried along by the rising tide of the new Jewish nationalism. Born and raised in the traditions of the Jews of the Ukraine and of Russian Poland, he brought with him into Western Europe not only the mind of an *Illui*, stored full of the old Jewish learning, but also the reawakened Jewish self-consciousness that was the result, at the same time, of the impact of the new day and the old pogroms. This new self-consciousness, this new sense of spiritual power,

*Address delivered at the Friedlaender Memorial Meeting, College of the City of New York, October 24, 1920.

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was expressing itself in manifold ways, but particularly through nationalistic Zionism on the one hand, and, on the other, through the Socialistic Bund. A student at the Hildesheimer Theological Seminary, and a prospective Rabbi in Israel, Friedlaender's interest was with nationalistic Zionism alone. These problems so absorbed him that neither then nor later did he attempt an adequate synthesis between the problems arising out of Zionist Nationalism and the Jewish Nationalism at the basis of the Socialist Bund. Moses Hess who, three generations before, attempted to harmonize his Jewish aspirations with his revolutionary theories and activities, still stands out as the one man who identified Jewish idealism with that new social order of which he was an early prophet.

THOSE were the days when the V. J. St.—the Verein Jüdischer Studenten —began its glorious career. With a whimsical smile, Friedlaender would often recall his emotions when he first realized that most of the men in this Jewish student society were duellists and beer drinkers and traditional German "Studenten" along with their Teutonic contemporaries. Yet, was it not natural that they should be? In America, when Jewish students are excluded from students' societies, what is more natural than for them to form fraternities of their own, quite regardless of the intrinsic worth of the fraternity idea? So it was in Germany. When the Jewish students found themselves gradually excluded from the German students' societies, they set about to form *Vereine* of their own, with colored caps and sashes and banners, and sabres, and *Mensuren* and *Kneipen*. To a man of Friedlaender's training and outlook, all of that was so much mummery. This gentle, peaceful *Chassid* was not at home among the militarists with their clashing swords, with their sabre-cut noses and ears. But there, as ever, his wonderful sensitiveness did not abandon him. He penetrated through the flashing exterior to the bottom of the problem. He understood its seriousness, and also its hopefulness. Here were young German Jews who, for the most part, had grown up for two generations without Jewish training, without knowledge of Judaism, or of their Jewish selves; young, brilliant men, who were suffering over again the old *Judenschmerz* because of the intolerance and brutality and ignorance of their neighbors; young men who, through sheer external compulsion, were thrown back into a spiritual Ghetto, and who in order to retain their self-respect and some inner freedom, determined, in spite of all difficulties, to show their neighbors the metal of which they were made. As a matter of fact, the Jewish duellists of the Verein Jüdischer Studenten soon established an enormously formidable reputation, and I even remember one "Alter Herr" who had a beer-drinking reputation that any one hundred per cent Teuton might well have envied.

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It was in this atmosphere of militarism, of thwarted hope, of resurgent pride, of defiance, despair, of an exaggerated arrogance, that the still, small voice of Friedlaender was heard above all the alarums of the duels. It was to such that he had the courage to say—what he repeated over and over again until his death: "Seek knowledge, study the history and the literature of your people from the Bible down to the present day. Seek an understanding of the soul of this ancient, martyred, productive people." So earnest, so convincing was his preaching that a minimum of Jewish study was soon required for membership in the society. He himself taught them Hebrew and Jewish history. He expounded to them the spiritual nationalism of Achad Ha'Am and Dubnow.

And the result of his work, and that of the handful of wise men who worked with him? A spiritual awakening among the Jewish youth of Germany. I happened recently to see a catalog of works issued by a couple of Jewish publishing houses in Germany. There was listed a mass of material on philosophy, history, literature, art, music and dozens of titles on various Jewish movements of the day—all of them relating Jewish thought to the problems of human beings, of life, and the world.

THE young men who came into touch with Israel Friedlaender found that he was keenly bent on their acquiring a knowledge of the Jewish people, on their absorbing its mighty ideals, and making them their own. He felt that nothing was more worth his time and energy than to address a student society, or an organization of young people, and try to impart to them some knowledge, some inspiration. I think that he stood at the cradle of almost every organization represented here, and that but for him some of them might not have come into being. So strongly was he attracted by the large number of Jewish students at City College that he, together with others, made some—unfortunately futile—efforts to have established at the City College a Chair of Jewish History and Literature. He was thoroughly convinced that the contribution of the Jew to American civilization could best be realized through an educated, enlightened, self-conscious Jewry. He, for one, did not fear the reproach of the anti-Semites that the Jews had too large a student class among them. For he cherished the old Jewish notion that the only aristocracy was that of learning, and he knew that a society that feared students and men of learning was by that very token in need of enlightenment. But no one knew better than he that book learning of itself, without the inspiration of a living ideal, could not avail much. Therefore he sought out those young people whose lives were touched by the spirit of Jewish religion—some of them within the synagogue, many of them estranged from it. He wanted to make the high human aspirations of the Jewish religion the

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living possession of the Jewish youth. He was fond of saying that the Hebrew root of the verb "to know" meant not only knowledge, but understanding—and love as well. One of his ambitions for Jewish students and teachers was to help them form a Union of Jewish Literary Societies not only for students, but for the broad masses of the people. It was his fond hope, too, that through knowledge of the Jewish people, leaders of the great community without might put aside their prejudices and welcome the specific Jewish strain in the titanic fusing, amalgamating process we call America.

It is the message of Israel Friedlaender to all those in whom the Jewish spirit stirred, that the Jewish people must be a people of the spirit, that it must love culture, that its Nationalism must be creative and spiritual, not militarist and ugly; that the Jewish people must continue to be a constructive race, a creative people, a people of dreamers and doers, devoted to peace and human freedom.

AN appreciation of Jacob H. Schiff by Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University—who was an intimate friend of the philanthropist for a great many years—will appear in the next issue of THE MENORAH JOURNAL

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"The International Jew"

By Nathan Isaacs

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The International Jew—The World's Foremost Problem, being a reprint of the first twenty articles in a series now appearing in *The Dearborn Independent*, November, 1920. Dearborn, Mich., 1920, 235 pp.

THE bibliographical lineage of this pamphlet, which has grown into a book, is to be sought rather in works on Russian politics that artfully pretend to deal with world problems, than in the long line of anti-Semitic effusions without which no Jewish library is complete. In this respect and in others—which Mr. Ford or Lieutenant Boris Brasol of the late Tsar's life guards could probably explain—the book is comparable to Brasol's *Socialism versus Civilization.* To understand the motive of certain Russian propagandists in writing all around their subject, rather than about it; to see, for example, why a book should be named and started off as if it were to deal with a world-problem, only to dwindle down and drivel off into a discussion of the iniquities of one political party in Russia and the wrongs suffered by another, it is only necessary to consider the very difficult problem that faced these propagandists in this country during the war. All things considered, they have made the best of a hopeless situation.

The Propagandists at Work

IMAGINE an embassy left stranded in what was for the time being—and perhaps still is—the most important capital in the world. That is to say, stranded without a government behind it but by no means without funds, thanks to the lucky accident of being able to sell to the United States at a profit ammunition bought here with funds advanced by the United States earlier in the war. Imagine the situation of the friends and representatives of the pre-revolutionary government seeking refuge in this embassy and offering their utmost services to help prevent the recognition of the revolutionists and to restore as much as possible of the old régime, using if possible the country of their exile as an aid—or we might as well say it, a cat's-paw. Imagine further their chagrin in finding throughout the country of their exile a very decided feeling against the old régime in Russia, based not at all on any love for the new régime, but on the fundamental difference between American political ideals and those of the Russian bureaucracy, on the horror with which American

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citizens had come to regard Russian persecutions of both Jew and Gentile, the secret police, government-initiated massacres, and corruption in high places.

Perhaps the sources of American information were not entirely unbiased. It may have been unfortunate for the old régime that it sent into the world a stream of persecuted refugees as its interpreters. If it did not care what the world thought, it may have to pay the penalty for its own folly. It may have been unfortunate that the world's first opportunity to watch the workings of the old régime came through the Japanese war. Perhaps it is unfortunate that the world's idea of Russian morality and civilization is colored by the translations it has read from the Russian novelists. But the fact remained that to plead for the old régime in America was futile. This fact is recorded, though characteristically it is blamed on the Jews, in the pamphlet before us. In speaking of his "documentary evidence" the author says:

> "It was incorporated in a Russian book published about 1905 by a Professor Nilus, who attempted to interpret the Protocols by events then going forward in Russia. This publication and interpretation gave it a Russian tinge which has been useful to Jewish propagandists in this country and England, because these same propagandists have been very successful in establishing in Anglo-Saxon mentalities a certain atmosphere of thought surrounding Russia and the Russians. One of the biggest humbugs ever foisted on the world has been that foisted by Jewish propagandists, principally on the American public, with regard to the temper and genius of the truly Russian people. So, to intimate that the Protocols are Russian, is partly to discredit them."

Read as a confession, this means that the propagandists for old Russia soon discovered that they would have to operate under cover if they hoped to win the American public to their cause: that they would have to attack Socialism and the Jews, for example, rather than praise the bureaucracy of the good old days. In attacking the Jews a double function might be served; not only would one of the most obvious blots be washed from the 'scutcheon of the old régime, its injustice to the Jew—but the revolutionists, not only the Bolsheviki but the Kerensky men as well, by being accused of Jewish leadership, would be discredited as usurpers.

But it soon became clear that a third function would have to be served if the propaganda in America was to count for anything. It would have to be shown that America was somehow or other concerned. America is growing sick and tired of European intrigues. Hence it is necessary to say not only that the Socialists or the Jews have done this or that to Russia, but that what they are supposed to have done there is only a sample of what they wish to do to America. The familiar argument, repeated most recently in Captain Wright's anti-Semitic report to Great Britain that the Jews of the West are very different from the Jews of Eastern

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Europe, cannot be permitted here. Says the *Dearborn Independent*:

> "The Gentile mind, confronted with the statement, says: 'Yes, but they are Russian Jews. Don't mind them. American Jews are all right. They would never be taken in by anything like that.'"

Taken as a confession, again, this statement means that the propagandists have learned that the Americans they approached had too high a regard for their Jewish neighbors to permit them to swallow the slander dished out by the Russian propaganda office. It has become clear that unless something can be done to make the alleged "Jewish Peril" seem international in its scope, it must utterly fail in the purpose for which it was invented. "Oh, what a tangled web we weave, when first we practice to deceive."

"Beware of Progress—It is Jewish"

THE idea of the International Jew did not have to be invented by the Russian American propagandists. It had already been used in Russia. There, it is true, the connotation of "international" was quite different. The word did not suggest "world-wide" but simply "foreign." That is perhaps what the *Dearborn Independent* has in mind when it recognizes in the paragraphs it sets out as "official" Jewish documents "a Russian tinge" due to an attempt "to explain the Protocols by events then (about 1905) going forward in Russia." The bias of an orthodox Russian of that period against all things foreign and all progress of the Western European type is seen in the words he puts into the mouth of the supposed Jewish Protocol writer:

> "We will continue to direct thought into all the intricacies of fantastic theories, new and supposedly progressive. Surely we have been completely successful in turning the witless heads of the Gentiles by the word 'Progress.'"

That certainly has a Russian, and what is more, a Russian reactionary tinge. It may have worked in Russia—but it is a little amusing in America, to say: "Beware of Progress. It is a Jewish scheme." And so the Protocols to be of any use at all, must be quoted piecemeal, italicized by the editor, glossed, carefully introduced, puzzled over, dealt with as a mystery. And that is exactly what the *Dearborn Independent* does.

But how comes the *Dearborn Independent* to take up the work of the Russian propagandists? Or, to tear off the first mask, how comes this Ford, who according to his own testimony, in the case in which he was awarded one cent as damages, is not much of a reader, and who hires men to do his thinking and writing for him, to rush in where, we are told, others fear to tread? This is the only phase of the question that is likely to interest readers of THE MENORAH JOURNAL. For whether the author is right or wrong in stressing differences between what Jews write for

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Jews and what they write for Gentile consumption, this much is clear, that for the reader who is a student of Jewish culture and ideals an attempt to disprove Jewish authorship of a bit of Russian "documentary evidence" for which not a shred of evidence of Jewish authorship has been offered, would be as insulting as it is uncalled for. The statement of the *Dearborn Independent* to the contrary notwithstanding, the contents of the documents have been examined by Lucien Wolf and others with sufficient care to set that question at rest even among non-Jewish readers. Our immediate interest is limited to the history of the "Protocols" in America. In spite of his vaunted shrewdness, the author of the articles naïvely gives away the whole story, from the day this stuff was brought to America from Russia, or as he says, *through* Russia, down through its unsuccessful peddling in official and semi-official Washington and other places, until finally a satisfactory tool was found in Mr. Ford.

The Peddling of the "Protocols"

HERE the propagandist gives the exact order in which he peddled his wares in America. One conversant with America would probably have worked in the opposite direction; but this order was natural enough in the case of a Russian of the old régime:

> "The world," he tells us, "has long suspected—at first only a few, then the secret departments of the governments, next the intellectuals among the people, now more and more the common people themselves—that the Jews are consciously united for a common defense and for a common purpose."

Read as a confession, this means: Our Russian propagandist first took his document to only a "few" in America; then, perhaps on their advice, or because nothing came of this first step, he approached what he calls "the secret departments" of the government, with what success he soon tells us; still undismayed he circulated written or typewritten copies in circles which he thought corresponded to what Europe calls "intellectuals," though as a matter of fact all he succeeded in doing was to give a new scandal for a few days to certain semi-official circles and salons in Washington, only to be swept away to make room for a fresher bit of gossip. Finally he learned one thing about America: that if he expected to accomplish anything he would have to put his case before what he calls "the common people." But here came an unforeseen delay. Not that the Russian of the old régime was unable to swallow his pride and appeal to the common people, though this difficulty may have occasioned some delay, but because he could not get a publisher. He does not give us the details of this part of his peddling, but the despair of this period is only thinly veiled in his account of how the Jews seem to control the press. Here and there during this period a newspaper made a

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remark about International Jewry or even made a news item with a big headline about Trotzky's plan of world-conquest, but nothing came of it. Our propagandist probably treasured these clippings in a scrap book as the sole evidence of his "success" to show his chief. He and his colleagues were being supported somehow all of this time, and it is hardly likely that their estates in Russia were yielding anything just then—so they had to show results. At any rate, whether a scrap book was kept or not, these clippings were kept handy enough to be nicely dished up in the "articles" from time to time.

Finally a publisher was found. That is, he is not exactly a publisher, and his paper not depending on subscriptions for its income can hardly be taken to represent any constituency. But that is no objection from the point of view of the propagandist. He no doubt feels that he has delivered the goods and earned his board and keep. Just what arguments he used to interest the "idealist" who if not "ignorant" is at least not very well read, is not known. Perhaps he quoted the cryptic books of Benedict Arnold to him. Perhaps he overawed him with introductions procured through an "embassy." It is even possible that an elaborate web was spun. Whatever the method used, Ford's millions seem to be at the disposal of those who want it believed that there is an International Jewish conspiracy and that Russia is only one of its victims.

The Search for a Fool

IT IS too early to foretell the results of all this agitation by imported Russian methods. That it has not yet induced Americans to believe that they are seriously interested in the internal politics of Europe was attested by the results of the last election. If Bolsheviks and Bureaucrats do not mend their ways, they will probably force the average American to say: "A plague on both your houses." And the Jew of Eastern Europe cannot but echo the sentiment and finish the quotation: "They have made worms' meat of me."

Whatever the reaction of the people may be, even if Mr. Ford succeeds in whatever he thinks he is accomplishing, it is interesting to learn from the articles themselves the fate of this propaganda in the "secret departments" of the government. The very term is a Russianism and shows a misapprehension of the American government. We have no secret police spying on the civilian population. Books of the type of the Protocol would probably have been welcomed by the secret police of old Russia, and who knows, would probably have led to arrests, raids, confiscations, extortions, expulsions, discriminatory legislation and even pogroms. One can easily imagine the chagrin of the propagandist when he approached the Secret Service of our Treasury only to learn that that

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branch of the government was concerned only with safeguarding the life of the President and protecting the country against counterfeit money. That must have been puzzling to a Russian. Perhaps it explains why a story was suddenly circulated, and as suddenly dropped, that the Bolsheviki were engaged in counterfeiting American money on a large scale. If among the "secret departments" of the United States government, our propagandist included the Military Intelligence Division and the Office of Naval Intelligence, what a rude awakening it must have been to be told that these offices were concerned solely with such intelligence as had to do with the military and naval efficiency of the United States and that they had nothing in common with the Third Division of the Russian Police. And so on through the War Trade Intelligence Board, the Department of Justice, and the State Department. If other so-called secret departments were approached, perhaps they too have copies of the Protocols in their files along with hundreds of other "mare's nests." Perhaps here and there a clerk's mind has been poisoned by the contents and an injustice done to this or that Jew by withholding a promotion, a passport, an appointment. But the net result of the whole campaign in the departments of government is reflected in the conclusion of the propagandist's warped mind that the United States government "is very largely in the hands of, or under the influence of, Jewish interests." Referring to the action of the Department of Justice when a copy of the Protocols was handed to it, he says:

> "It is more than probable that as soon as the activity became known, the investigator was stopped. But it is equally probable that whatever orders may have been given and apparently obeyed, the investigation may not have stopped."

All of this "may" and "may-not" nonsense, to prove that the "secret departments" of the government suspect a Jewish plot! Does it not rather prove that the propagandist served the departments of the government with his propaganda and that after due investigation they sized him up correctly? It is not at all surprising that men trained in the common law system of testing allegations and administering justice should ignore a case in which everything that points one way (and much that doesn't) is handed in as evidence of a "plot" and "concerted action," and everything that points the other way is taken as evidence of the cleverness of the plotters in hiding their tracks. The moral of the whole story is that most European propagandists are handicapped by their conviction that all Americans are fools and *parvenus*, when, as a matter of fact, it is only once in a generation that they find a really good fool who measures up to all their requirements in America.

Nathan Isaacs

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"The Passing of the Shtadlan"

Some Corrections of Fact

By Solomon Solis-Cohen

[Editors' Note: In acknowledging the receipt of the following letter from Dr. Solis-Cohen, the Editors wrote as follows: "We most heartily welcome such a dignified and dispassionate criticism as you present. You realize, of course, that neither our Journal (being an open forum) nor our Association (being a purely academic organization) is responsible for the views and statements presented by any author. Particularly true is this in the case of Prize Essays, which are crowned by independent Boards of Judges, and which we print for what they are worth as products of student pens. If misstatements are thus published, we are more than happy to correct them, and so we are grateful to you for enabling us to publish your 'corrections' on the 'Shtadlan' essay."]

To the Editors of The Menorah Journal:

I HAVE only recently had an opportunity to read the thoughtful and well-written Prize Essay entitled "The Passing of the Shtadlan," appearing in The Menorah Journal for June, 1920.

It is to be regretted that the author's objectivity has not been equal to his admirable subjectivity.

While—to be perfectly frank—my opinion of the American Jewish Congress and the purpose underlying it, differs from that put forth in the paper, this communication is not motivated by that difference and is not intended to discuss opinions. It simply asks permission, in the name of historical accuracy, to place on record in your journal and, if possible, in the same volume as that containing the prize essay, a statement of fact concerning some of the essay's misstatements of fact.

The essayist may be right or wrong in his interpretation of the development of Jewish history in America. At all events the paper is valuable as a subjective record; it undoubtedly expresses the mistaken feelings of masses of uninformed and misinformed persons among the later Jewish immigrants—and this feeling may have had much to do in shaping the march of events.

But the purpose of this note is purely objective. It has no theory to uphold or oppose, except the view that misinformation or lack of information is not a desirable basis for the writing of history.

I happen to know at first hand much of the events since 1880 which the essay purports to narrate, and something through direct narrative by the participants of many of the events prior to 1880, to which he alludes—and have even come (through one whose life extended from 1817 to 1914 in unbroken mental vigor) into a not very distant direct relation with the period of the American Revolution.

My corrections are therefore based in part on personal observation, and

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in part upon testimony personally received—at the most, by one remove. Moreover they are verifiable by printed and written records. This possibly unique position leaves me no escape from the duty of pointing out some of the mistakes of the essayist.

These are, *inter alia*—it would be too great a task to correct every error —as noted below:

1. Aaron Lopez in Newport and Haym Salomon in New York did not "play the rôle of Shtadlan." There was no need for such a rôle and there is nothing in the records of these men to indicate that they attempted it.

Haym Salomon, by the bye, did not "come from Spain or Portugal," nor was he "a fugitive from Portuguese persecution in Brazil." He was born in Poland. This is but a minor matter, it is true, but it serves to illustrate a general carelessness in statement.

2. "American Sephardic communities" (I should prefer to say "congregations") outside of New York and Philadelphia were not "extinguished" because they "fought a class war to the end" against the Jews of German birth, but they became merged with the Ashkenazic congregations partly through lack of Sephardic immigration to make up the numerical losses suffered by quiet apostasy, by intermarriage with Gentiles, by intermarriage with Ashkenazim who preferred to keep their own synagogue connections, by bachelorhood, spinsterhood, and infertility; and partly through the sweep of the "Reform" movement, which began, indeed, in the Sephardic congregation of Charleston, S. C.

Incidentally, the Sephardim were not "later [so] called" but were such and were so-called from the first. This, however, is merely another piece of the essay's general disregard of objective accuracy; and the correction is, again, simply of illustrative value.

3. Far from the adoption of a "servile attitude" or the "climbing of back stairs" by those individuals who led the defense of Jews in America from aspersion or derogation, or of Jews abroad from oppression or persecution, in the days preceding 1860 (one of the author's epoch-marking dates) it was precisely their manifest courage in open assertion of truth and public claim of equal rights that, added to their character and their standing as citizens, gave to these zealous champions influence among the Jews and power in the general community. One need only cite Asser Levy, the Seixases (Isaac, Gershom, and Benjamin), the Hayses (of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New York), Mordecai Noah, Samuel Jackson, Jacob Solis, the Touros, and Isaac Leeser, to show the baselessness of the essayist's assertion; and incidentally, the needlessness of any supposed Shtadlanism of Lopez or Salomon. It is true that all of these men, and others like them, too numerous to mention, were as earnest and outspoken within the Synagogue as they were without; and that they put forth educational, charitable and religious projects, some of which were adopted and developed to a greater or less degree of success, some of which were adopted and failed, and some of which were too far in advance of the time, or even, perhaps, too unwise or fantastic, to be accepted. In support of their proposals, they made use of persuasion, argument and every legitimate form of influence; as they did also in other matters, urging

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their coreligionists to discreet utterance and wise action and opposing indiscreet utterance and unwise action. No doubt, too, they often found better ways to exert legitimate influence in behalf of their oppressed brethren than the mere "resolutions" of "mass meetings," or indiscriminate and incoherent "denunciations." But such is the way of leaders, publicists, statesmen, in every age, every place and every community; and it betokens neither "bossism" nor "cowardice" either in its inhibitions or its stimulations.

4. What is said concerning the activities of "a sort of Jewish Ambassador at Washington" is one of those dangerous partial truths that are worse than actual falsity. The subject does not lend itself to extended discussion. Essentially—and especially in respect to the inferences built thereon—the essayist's statement exhibits an entire misunderstanding of the very useful public work of an estimable gentleman, for whom a great body of Jews in America justly entertain sentiments of high regard. It is thus a misstatement that demands correction. In connection therewith, it hardly seems necessary to point out a manifest absurdity, yet the error underlying this absurdity is so dangerous that it cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed.

Simon Wolf, it is true, properly regards the Jews of America "as a religious [body] and not a nationality"; but as this has been the position of the officers of the United States Government from the days of Hancock and Washington to those of Roosevelt and Wilson, I am afraid we cannot put this correct governmental attitude to his credit.

5. As one of the founders, with Dr. C. D. Spivak and other immigrant friends, of the short-lived "Jewish Alliance of America" and an active participant in its work, I will simply say that if the American Jewish Congress really was (as the essayist intimates) projected as an attempt to destroy the influence of the American Jewish Committee and its members (a view I hesitate to accept, but do not wish to dispute), then the Alliance had little in common with it. On the contrary, some of those most active in the "Alliance" were of the very type later found in the "Committee." I may instance, for example, the late Simon Muhr of Philadelphia—*zichro librechah*—an Ashkenazic member of the Sephardic Congregation Mikve Israel of Philadelphia, who was its Treasurer. He accepted this office at my request, because of his deep sympathy with his oppressed Russian brethren (whom most certainly he never "exploited") and his great desire to serve them. Among those happily still living, who sympathized with the Alliance or worked with and for it, and who were later identified with the American Jewish Committee, I may cite the first Chairman of the latter body—Judge Mayer Sulzberger. These two are not the only ones who could be named, but the instances are sufficiently illustrative. In fact, the Alliance failed just because it was a premature attempt at fusion in a common organization, for common purposes, and upon a basis of equality, of the older and newer elements in the American Jewish community. If the essayist would study its history and analyze the causes of its failure, he might do a good service. But the analysis would have to be more careful than the essay under consideration, which here, particularly, shows again the lack of that spirit of strict regard for exact statement in all matters of fact—

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and surely in matters of which the truth is so easily attainable—which should characterize historical studies.

6. Regarding the incidents narrated under the head of "Conferences and Compromises" the essay is as inexact as in the topics previously discussed. Particulars may be omitted, lest they tend to reopen controversies best forgotten. Some things, however, can be stated in a general way. First, regarding the abortive conference between Mr. Brandeis and Dr. Adler. This was the result of a resolution offered by me at the Boston meeting of the American Federation of Zionists. It was not a spontaneous proffer on the one hand; it was not an overture sought for on the other. In fact, I am in position to say that it was entered into reluctantly on both sides; and only as the result of much persuasion and as an effort at harmony. Opposite convictions, sincerely held, could not, however, be compromised. The only personal comment I shall permit myself to make is that this was to the credit of both conferees. They were clearer sighted than those of us who had hoped for the impossible. And I say this much only because the position, words, and actions of one of the conferees—the representative of the American Jewish Committee—are set forth in the essay exactly as they were not. For most of his contemporaries the correction is needless; they know him as the very soul of honor, and that he should seek unfair advantage or attempt to evade an agreement, oral or written, open or tacit, explicit or implied, is for them unthinkable. This writing is merely for those who might hereafter be misled by the printed word of the essay.

The course of events subsequent to the Adler-Brandeis conference is also incorrectly stated; one need only refer to the contemporaneous chronicles of the Jewish press—at least those printed in the English language—to see how very incorrectly. Since the American Jewish Committee, the various Congress committees, the Zionists, the Workmen's Organization and the various Jewish associations of national scope represented at the New York Conferences, share almost equally in the general inaccuracy of report, it is not necessary to attribute this to conscious bias, or to any desire to distort or to pervert. It is simply part of the characteristic carelessness and lack of information—or perhaps merely failure to realize the need for carefulness or for accuracy of information—in a word, the subjective color—that runs through the whole essay.

These notes are made and their publication requested simply in the interest of history. Future students may easily be misled by an essay which has been awarded a prize and appears in a journal of character and repute, and doubtless a number will be so misled in spite of the effort to prevent it. Some may, perhaps, refer to the index and see that the statements of the essay have been challenged as to factuality—and may then read the corrections. If so, they will see that I have scrupulously refrained from debating the essayist's opinions or his interpretations of history, save as personal opinion or subjective interpretation has been put forth in place of fact.

Solomon Solis Cohen

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Between the Book-Ends

(A number of books here mentioned in summary fashion will be reviewed at length in subsequent issues of THE MENORAH JOURNAL. *Our readers are invited to make their purchases of these or any other books through the Menorah Service Department, with the promise of a saving in most cases from the usual retail prices.)*

"THE OUTLINE OF HISTORY," by H. G. Wells (Macmillan, 2 vols., $10.50), is easily the most spectacular book of the year. The courage of the author commands as much admiration as the brilliancy with which he has executed the task. Its soundness, of course, is another story. Jewish readers will, no doubt, be disappointed to find only some 20 pages devoted to Jewish history in a bulk of over 1200 pages.

"The Groping Giant—Revolutionary Russia as Seen by an American Democrat," by William Adams Brown (Yale University Press, $2.50), endeavors to present in a sympathetic light the point of view of the three important groups in Russian life at the present time—the masses, the Bolsheviki and the intelligentzia.

"Poland and the Minority Races," by Arthur L. Goodhart (Brentano, $3.00), devotes considerable space to the problem of the Jewish minority. Sidney Mendelsohn is the author of two volumes, "The Jews of Africa" and "The Jews of Asia" (Dutton, each $4.00), dealing only with the 16th and 17th centuries.

Three of the greatest thinkers of our day who have opened new horizons to our thinking, and all three of whom happen to be Jews—Einstein, Bergson, and Freud—are represented in this season's output of books. "Relativity—The Special and The General Theory," by Albert Einstein (Holt, $2.00); "Mind-Energy," by Henri Bergson (Holt, $2.50); "A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis," by Sigmund Freud (Boni & Liveright, $4.50), make a substantial contribution to anyone's library, and are at the same time fascinating reading. All three have been translated from the originals by authorities in our language who have done their tasks well. The Freud book has a preface by G. Stanley Hall, who is also represented this season by two books of his own—"Morale" (Appleton) and "Recreations of a Psychologist" (Appleton, $2.50). Another contribution to Freudiana is "Repressed Emotions," by Isador H. Coriat (Brentano).

"Recent Developments in European Thought," edited by F. S. Marvin (Oxford University Press, $3.00), is a series of essays by leading authorities summarizing the contributions to progress in their fields in the past generation—an exceedingly valuable summary for both the student and the general reader.

"The Human Factor in Industry," by Lee K. Frankel and Alexander Fleisher (Macmillan, $3.00), is an authoritative "text" describing the best methods of securing increased production and harmonious co-operation in industry. "Democracy and Assimilation," by Julius Drachsler (Macmillan, $3.00) is a plea for a fusion of all that is best in foreign cultures into a richer American democracy. The better part of two chapters of this book has already appeared in THE MENORAH JOURNAL.

A new edition of "The Ethics of the Fathers," by Alexander Kohut (printed privately) bears a biographical sketch of the author by Barnett A. Elzas, appreciations of his contribution to Jewish scholarship by Gotthard Deutsch and Maurice H. Harris, and a memoir by Max Cohen. These introductions serve to recall a powerful figure in American Jewish life of the last century.

"The Book of Job," by Morris Jastrow, Jr. (Lippincott, $4.00), is another link in

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the chain begun with the author's "A Gentle Cynic," inaugurating a new scholarly and at the same time human treatment of the masterprieces of the Bible. "The Orient in Bible Times," by Elihu Grant (Lippincott, $2.50), will help to make vivid the background, the landscape and the neighboring civilizations of "the people of the Book." The illustrations are from photographs of present-day scenes. "The Religions of the World," by George A. Barton (University of Chicago Press, $2.00), is an enlarged second edition of an accepted guide to the study of comparative religion, in which the ancient Hebrew and the modern Jewish religions are each given a chapter. "The Religious Experience of Israel," by William J. Hutchins (Association Press, $1.90), is a guide to the religious material in the Old Testament.

"Ancient Man—The Beginning of Civilization," by Hendrik Willem Van Loon (Boni & Liveright, $3.00), is a "story-book" and "picture-book" which proves how simply and at the same time how accurately so momentous a subject can be treated for the youngest readers. The seemingly crude sketches and colored pictures and "animated maps" are fascinating to the child mind. Ancient Jewish history comes in for its share of space. "A Nursery Story of the Bible," by Louise M. Pleasanton (Stokes), gives two-thirds of its space to the Old Testament. Two volumes of "Stories of Child Life in a Jewish Colony in Palestine," one known simply as "Stories" and the other as "Festival Stories," both by Hannah Trager (Dutton, $1.50 each), are intended for young readers. "Jewish Children" is the title given to a selection of stories translated from Sholom Aleichem (Knopf).

The immigrant and his problems have come in for an unusual share of attention in this season's fiction. "Uncle Moses," by Sholom Asch (Dutton, $2.50), and "Sarah and Her Daughter," by Bertha Pearl (Seltzer, $2.25), are the more notable of these. "The Hyphen," by Lida C. Schem (Dutton, $6.00), is a two-volume "epic" of the process of Americanization of a group of immigrants of Russian-German origin. "The Jugglers," by Ezra Brudno (Moffat, Yard), is a story of the struggles of an idealist against the jugglery of the law courts.

"The Art of Biography," by William Roscoe Thayer (Scribner's, $1.50), is a series of three lectures covering the development of biographical writing from the earliest Biblical narratives, of which the story of Joseph is a superb example, down to the bulky memoirs of our own day. "The Writing of History," by Fred Morrow Fling (Yale University Press, $2.00), is an introduction to historical method as laid down by Bernheim. A number of Randolph Bourne's essays have been gathered together into a posthumous volume under the title of its first paper, "The History of a Literary Radical" (Huebsch, $2.00). "On American Books," edited by Francis Hackett (Huebsch, $.50), is a pamphlet reprint of a number of short estimates of literary achievement in America, contributed to the London *Nation* by J. E. Spingarn, Morris Cohen and several others, whose right to speak for American literary production has been grotesquely challenged by Brander Matthews, redoubtable champion of Anglo-Saxon "purity."

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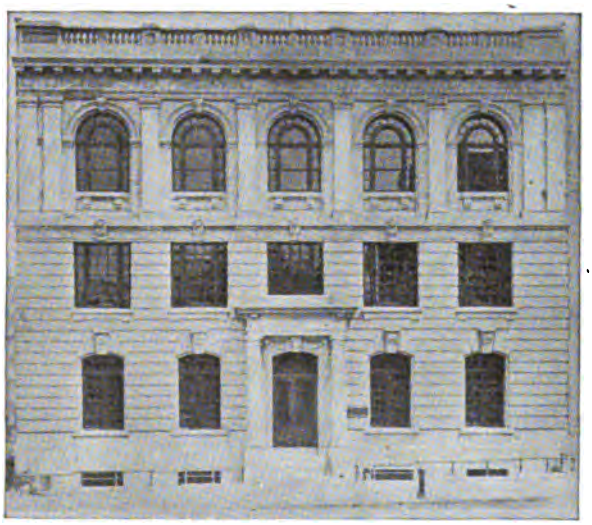

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